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THE AGE OF QUEEN VICTORIA

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PREFACE.

No book goes out to the world without a preface ; and there is no reason why this should be an exception. But in writing a preface an author has usually some objects to set forth.

In the first place, this book must justify its existence. A book that shortens work, sweetens labour and simplifies complexity has reasonable claims to life, and a long life too.

Secondly, as an act of pious duty I wish to express my gratitude to the several authors whose precious volumes have supplied, without suffering in their own vitality, the life-blood that sustains the one in hand. The bibliography will inform the reader of the names of books and authors consulted in the preparation of this small volume.

The story of India has been excluded from its scope in as much as the type of reader for whom this book is intended, is expected to know more of Indian history than can possibly be accommodated in the space available here.

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Sept. 1, 1926

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S. N. B.

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* Attention of the reader is especially drawn to these volumes.

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CHAPTER I.

HOME POLITICS

~~Princess Victoria; her Accession~~ Princess Alexandra Victoria was the only child of Edward, Duke of Kent, the fourth son of George III. She was born on May 24, 1819 and next year she lost her father. She was brought up by her mother (Victoria Mary Louisa of Saxe Coburg, 1786-1861) in habits of self-reliance and self-sacrifice, order and punctuality. If her mother moulded her character, she owed her political education up to the time of accession, to her maternal uncle Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg who but for the untimely death in 1818 of Princess Charlotte (daughter of George IV), would have been the Prince Consort of England. George IV, the eldest son of George III, died in 1830 and before his death had died his two other brothers, Edward (Princess Victoria's father) in 1820 and Frederick, Duke of York in 1827. When William IV, the third son of George III, died, the issue of the fourth son was called to the throne in June 1837.

At half past two in the morning of June 20 William IV died. Dr. Howley, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Marquis of Conyngham, the Lord Chamberlain, hurried off at once from Windsor to Kensington Palace. After gaining admittance to the courtyard, they rang and requested for an audience with the Princess. They were told that the Princess was asleep and could not be disturbed. "We have come on business of State and even her sleep must give way to that", was the rejoinder. It did. And in the room where the

2 SEPARATION OF HANOVER.

veterans were waiting appeared a young girl of eighteen 'in loose white night gown and shawl, her hair falling upon her shoulders, her feet in slippers, tears in her eyes but perfectly collected and dignified'. The news was delivered: she was summoned to the most illustrious throne in the world. The reign that thus commenced proved the longest in British history; it was to last for sixty-three years, seven months and three days.

As the Salic Law prevailed in Hanover she could not be its ruler, as all previous Kings of England had been since 1714. Ernest, Duke of Cumberland, the fifth son of George III, hence his eldest living male descendant, was to occupy the Hanoverian throne. The separation of England and Hanover was an advantage to the former as would be evident in connexion with the event of 1866 when she took little notice of its absorption by Prussia. At the time of accession the severance of Hanover was popular because thereby the country got rid of the Duke of Cumberland, 'the symbol of the darkest and fiercest passions and even crimes.'

Section 2.

The Melbourne Ministry, Lord Melbourne had formed his government in Ap. 1835 *i.e.*, two years before the accession of Queen Victoria. Lord John Russell was the Home Secretary, Lord Palmerston was the Foreign Secretary, Lord Lansdowne the President of the Council, Lord Glenelg Secretary for War and the Colonies, Spring Rice the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Viscount Morpeth the Chief Secretary for Ireland. The position of the Ministry was insecure. Abroad, there were discontent in Ireland and rebellion in Canada. At home, the social and economic distress was acute; in finance it was markedly unsuccessful; its alliance with O'Connell was

disliked by most Englishmen. There was a formidable opposition organised and led by Sir Robert Peel in the Commons. In 1837 Peel was not ready to turn Melbourne out; in 1839, as will be seen, the obstinacy of the Queen prevented Peel from forming a Ministry and thus allowed Melbourne to enjoy the bitterness of office two years longer. In 1839 Leader, the Radical member for Westminster, said, "The right honourable member for Tamworth (Peel) governs England; the honourable and learned member for Dublin (O'Connell) governs Ireland; the Whigs govern nothing but Downing Street".

Domestic Reforms. The accession of a new sovereign involved a dissolution of Parliament within six months. Before winding up the business of the session of 1837 an Act was passed by which capital punishment was confined to high treason, murder, rape and piracy. The General Election that followed resulted in strengthening the Conservative position: there were 312 Conservatives as against 273 in the previous Parliament. In conjunction with the Radicals and the O'Connellites, the Ministerialists had a majority of 38 only. England and Wales had returned a clear majority of 20 against the Ministers.

The new Parliament met in November for a brief session for the settlement of the Civil List. As her predecessors since George III had done, the Queen placed the hereditary revenues at the disposal of the Parliament which, after enquiry, fixed the Civil List at £386,000 per annum, in addition to the revenues of the Duchies of Lancaster and Cornwall. In 1837 the hereditary revenues amounted to £250,000 a year; in 1900 they were £452,000—more than sufficient to pay the whole Civil List; and thus in the long run the nation made a good bargain.

In the next session (Jany. 1838) the Parliament was chiefly occupied with the Canadian and Irish affairs. The year 1839

4 DIFFICULTIES WITH JAMAICA.

is associated with two important measures. (a) The adoption Penny Postage, a reform of immense public utility and far-reaching importance. Much of the credit should go to Rowland Hill who in a pamphlet, *Post Office Reform*, in 1837 recommended the adoption of the uniform penny postage to be "prepaid by the sender by means of adhesive stamps. (b) A new Committee of the Privy Council to supervise elementary education was created with an increased annual grant of £30,000.

^{2nd} **The Jamaica Bill.** The West Indian slaves had been emancipated in 1833. But it was enacted, to prevent a sudden dislocation of work, that all slaves above 6 years of age were to be ^{released} manumitted after seven years. The planters of Jamaica knowing that the slaves would soon become free, ill-treated them most cruelly during this period of legal apprenticeship. As these planters had political power, they could do so with impunity. But on the report of this, England was aroused. There was a sort of national demand for the immediate emancipation of all the apprentices. An Act was passed to that effect (1838). It was accepted by the Jamaica Assembly under great protest. Terrorism appeared and prisons where many slaves were confined, were worse and more inhumanly managed than before. The Imperial Government placed these prisons directly in the hands of the Governor. The Jamaica Assembly thought its constitutional rights were violated by the Home Government and assumed a rebellious attitude. The Governor dissolved it; but the new Assembly proved to be no better. Henry Labouchere the Colonial Under-Secretary, brought in a Bill to suspend the Jamaica constitution and to vest dictatorial powers in the Governor and a Legislative Commission. The Bill was carried by a majority of 5 only (1839). The Ministers feeling that they were weakly

THE BED-CHAMBER INCIDENT.

supported by one House and not supported at all by the other, resigned. Then followed the Bed-chamber episode. But after the reinstatement of the Melbourne Ministry with Lord John Russell as the Colonial Secretary, the Jamaica question was again taken up. Owing to the opposition, the idea of suspending the constitution was dropped. Jamaica was practically left to itself. The inability of the Ministry to take stringent measures perpetuated for many years misgovernment in that colony.

The Bedchamber Question, 1839. Melbourne on resigning advised the Queen to send for the Duke of Wellington who recommended Peel. Sir Robert consented to form a Cabinet on condition that she replaced the Whig ladies (*e.g.*, sister of Lord Morpeth, wife of Lord Normanby) in the royal household by some Tory ladies. Peel argued that he should have Her Majesty's entire confidence and support and that it would be difficult for him to carry on the administration if she were surrounded by the wives and sisters of his political opponents. But the Queen on the advice of Melbourne declined to consent to a course which she regarded as contrary to usage and repugnant to her feelings. Peel resigned his commission; and the Whigs crept into office 'behind the petticoats of the ladies in waiting'.

This was the famous Bedchamber question. It caused a prodigious stir at the time; it was one of those episodes that "impart so strange an air of frivolity to English politics and counteract grave issues by some trivial personal question". Apparently there was much truth in Peel's argument that the young and inexperienced Queen was likely to be influenced by those with whom she was in close personal contact, and for the same reason the Whigs in 1837 had appointed only Whig ladies to the royal household. But it is doubtful if the ladies

of the Bedchamber possessed any influence. The fact was that the Queen did not like Peel, 'a cold, odd man'. Sixty years later the Queen remarked to Sir Arthur Bigge (her Private Secretary). "I was very young then, and perhaps I should act differently if it was all to be done again."

The Queen's Marriage. The Queen married (Feb. 10, 1840) Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, her first cousin (maternal uncle's son). The idea of the Queen of England marrying a German princeling was not popular in the country. Probably his stiff, reserved and pedantic manners prevented him from ever becoming popular. But those who knew him best thought most highly of him. He was a man of high ideas and did much to promote science, learning and public decorum. But the country probably never ceased suspecting him. The Parliament rather discourteously reduced the Prince's annuity proposed by the Ministry and refused to give him the due precedence. It was not till 1857 that he was given the title of Prince Consort. He proved to be a devoted husband, an affectionate father and a sagacious and trustworthy adviser. She had received her first lessons in politics from Lord Melbourne; now she provided herself with a permanent counsellor.

Chartism. The Queen's reign opened amid social troubles which kept on deepening. The belief was rampant that a frivolous minister occupied a young Queen with amusements while the people were starving. The belief was groundless; but the fact was true that the Melbourne Ministry could do nothing to alleviate the social distress. This distress led to two movements, one political, and the other economic. The former was Chartism and the latter Anti-Corn Law League. The activities of the latter will be mentioned in connexion with Peel's ministry. The causes, progress and decline of Chartism may be given here.

The condition of the working classes was miserable. England was passing through a period of transition from agriculture to manufacture. Machine manufactures were displacing agriculture and rural industry, and machinery superseding manual labour. Many sought employment whereas only a few were required on account of the invention of machinery. The result was that owing to competition, the wages were low; at the same time prices were held up by the protective tariff. Few wage-earners could afford wheaten bread; most of them lived mainly on potatoes and turnips. If this was the case with the employed, worse was the condition of the unemployed. The villagers crowded into towns in search of employment, and not finding it, swelled the rank of the discontented. Not only discontent increased but pauperism increased immensely: out of a population of 15,000,000, over 1,100,000 persons were in receipt of public relief. Then again the new Poor Law of 1834 designed to confine pauperism to the work-house, merely intensified the discontent. Such was the deplorable condition of the working classes. On the other hand, the middle class of merchants and manufacturers was rapidly enriching itself on account of the mechanical inventions, increased production and extended market. Thus in the country, wealth there was in abundance, created as the labourers argued mainly by their efforts but from a due share of which they were excluded. Thus it has been said that in the midst of plethoric plenty, the people perished. Not only was there discontent but social dislocation, the country being broken up, to use the words of Disraeli, into "two nations between whom there is no intercourse and no sympathy, who are as ignorant of each other's habits, thoughts and feelings as if they were dwellers in different zones, or inhabitants of different planets". But could not the government interfere to set matter right to avoid a social war

that seemed possible? Two causes made such an interference well nigh impossible. As the result of the Parliamentary Reform Act of 1832 power had passed to the middle class which was interested in maintaining the existing state of things; secondly, on account of the fashionable Benthamite philosophy of the time, such a matter was considered outside the scope of State legislation - *laissez-faire*.

Chartism was the movement giving expression to the discontent of the proletariat. Chartism, says Carlyle, means the bitter discontent grown fierce and mad, the *wrong condition, or therefore wrong disposition* of the working classes of England. The proletariat saw that the upper and middle classes enjoying political rights were well off; and they argued that if they could share their power they would share their prosperity also. During 1830-32 they had agitated with them for Parliamentary reforms, and to their utter surprise and chagrin they found that the Reform Act of 1832 gave power to the middle class and not to them. Now they were not going to be deceived by the middle class again; they were resolved to work by themselves.

The word Chartism is derived from *charter*, or rather *The People's Charter* as it was called, a document in which the London Working Men's Association formulated their demands in 1838. The points on which they insisted were six: annual Parliaments; manhood suffrage; vote by ballot; equal electoral districts; the abolition of property qualifications for members of Parliament; and the payment of M. P.'s. The movement had gone on for many years and had counted respectable persons among its supporters. The acuteness of the economic distress during 1838-39, gave it a new impetus. The six points were advocated in the Press, on the platform, and at torchlight meetings; and Chartism spread rapidly

EFFORTS OF CHARTISTS.

among working men. A Chartist Convention in London got up a petition signed by millions of persons. It was presented to the House of Commons (June, 1839) which however refused to consider it. Lord John Russell announced that the Reform Act of 1832 was a final settlement. This was a bitter disappointment to the Chartists many of whom thought that once their grievances were explained, they would be remedied. Finding the government not amenable to argument, they broke out in a sort of insurrection. The 'moral force' party of Chartists withdrew from the movement which came to be controlled in 1839 by the 'physical force' party with Stephens and Feargus O'Connor as leaders. There was a serious riot at Birmingham. In Nov. 1839 the colliers of Monmouthshire marched under John Frost in arms to seize the town and prison of Newport and release Henry Vincent ('the Chartist Demosthenes') imprisoned there. The attack miscarried; and after a serious scuffle with the military in which 30 Chartists were killed and many wounded, the rioters dispersed. Frost and two of his companions were convicted of high treason and ultimately transported for life. The battle of Newport marked the collapse of 'physical force' Chartism. The 'moral force' party made two more attempts, once in 1842 and for the second time in 1848. Here for the sake of convenience the subsequent history of Chartism may be told.

Following the Anti-Corn Law League, the Chartists founded in 1840 a National Charter Association to agitate for their demands. In May 1842 the Association presented to Parliament a second petition signed by 1,000,000 persons. The House by a majority of 238 declared that the petition should not be heard. On this occasion Macaulay delivered a powerful speech for the rejection of the petition. The year 1848 was a year of revolution throughout Europe. How the infection of

DEFECTS OF CHARTISM.

the year affected Ireland will be told in a later chapter. In law-abiding England, it stirred the Chartists to a renewed hope under the leadership of Feargus O'Connor. Meetings were held in all large towns; and a monster petition was drawn up embodying the six points. The petition which was said to bear upwards of 5 million signatures, was to be carried in procession to the House of Commons. The Home Secretary prohibited the procession. The Duke of Wellington as Commander-in-chief, undertook to preserve the security of the metropolis; special constables* were enrolled and the soldiers were also kept in readiness. The mob was forbidden to cross the Westminster Bridge. O'Connor, who had hitherto hovered between the 'moral force' and the 'physical force' policies, now did his last service to the Chartist cause by calling off the procession and thus avoiding an outbreak of violence. The Chartist executive then carried the petition in mobs to the House of Commons. A select Committee was appointed to examine the petition: it was found to contain only two thousand signatures; many of them were written in the same hand-writing and were bearing such unlikely names as Victoria Rex, Prince Albert, the Duke of Wellington, Peel, Pugnose and Woodenlegs. The tables were dissolved in laughter and Chartism was killed by ridicule.

So long as Chartism remained an active movement, it suffered from two defects. It was never led by capable men. Secondly, it was too class-conscious to be a political success. Thomas Cooper dissuading his men from the Anti-Corn Law movement, thus said, "If you give up your agitation for the

*Among the special constables (some 170,000 in number), was a young Frenchman called Louis Napoleon, the future President of the French Republic (1848-51) and the Emperor of the French (1851-70).

Charter to help the Free Traders they will not help you to get the Charter. Don't be deceived by the middle classes again. You helped them to get their votes, but where are the fine promises they made to you? And now they want to get the Corn Laws repealed not for your benefit, but for their own". As a distinct movement Chartism died in 1848, that is to say, the Charter as a whole ceased from that time to be a standard round which revolutionary forces might gather. But the cause did not die. Carlyle rightly said, "The matter of Chartism is deep-rooted and far-extending; did not begin yesterday; will by no means end this day or tomorrow". The political programme of the six points was the ostensible demand but the real driving force behind it was economic. That force became less pressing from the later forties, owing to Peel's financial and commercial reforms which again showed that the Parliament was not indifferent to the needs of the labouring classes. Moreover the interests of the artisans were dispersed: some put faith in the Anti-Corn Law movement; others threw themselves into the new Cooperative Store movement; others occupied themselves with organising the Trades Unions. Only high prices and slack work of 1847 and the Revolutionary contagion of 1848 infused the Chartists with a momentary enthusiasm. But they proved themselves miserably inefficient revolutionaries, and Chartism ceased to be a disturbing influence in political life. But most of its principles, but not its exaggerated class feeling, found a hospitable home in the left wing of the Liberal party which in course of time obtained nearly all the points of the Charter. Property qualifications for M. P.'s were abolished in 1858; vote by ballot was secured in 1872; manhood suffrage was practically granted in 1884; by an Act in 1910 members are being paid; and the constituencies are nearer equality than before, though they are not exactly equal; annual Parliament

is absurd but the duration of Parliament has by the Act of 1911 been reduced from 7 to 5 years.

It remains to note the indirect effects of Chartism on English thought. Chartism manifested the squalor of the *proletaire* and meant a revolt against the middle class. Both these are reflected in the novels of Benjamin Disraeli who found in the movement an inspiration for his later policy of combining an educated and enfranchised people with a reformed aristocracy to offset the middle-class dominance. Great was also the impetus supplied by the Chartist movement to the teachings of the group of social reformers known as Christian Socialists of whom Charles Kingsley and F. D. Maurice were the chief. These were the two effects, apart from the impress it left upon the literature of the period. Hood's *Song of the Shirt*, Mrs. Browning's *Cry of the Children*, Mrs. Gaskell's *Mary Barton*, Kingsley's *Alton Locke* and Disraeli's *Sybil* are some examples.

Fall of the Melbourne Ministry, 1841. Had the Queen not been obdurate on the Bedchamber question, Peel would have formed his ministry in 1839. As it was, she artificially lengthened the life of the Melbourne Ministry for two years more. In the interval Peel organised the Opposition stronger than ever. Finance was the weak point of the Whigs, and it was on finance that the Ministry fell. Spring Rice had been replaced at the Exchequer in 1839 by Francis Baring. The Chancellor in 1840-41 estimated a deficit of more than 2 million pounds sterling. Revenue was mainly drawn from taxes on commodities which owing to bad trade and decreased consumption, yielded less and less. So it was proposed to increase consumption and hence revenue, by reducing the taxes; the duty on foreign sugar was to be reduced; while in place of a sliding scale of duty on corn, it was announced to substitute a fixed duty of 8s. per quarter. The former proposal

was defeated ; but as the Ministry still clung to office, Peel moved and carried a direct vote of want of confidence. The Whigs dissolved Parliament and appealed to the country. The Election went against the Ministerialists, the Conservatives getting a majority of more than 70 votes. When Parliament met in Aug. 1841, Peel brought forward a vote of censure which was carried. Melbourne tendered his resignation which was long overdue.

Lord Melbourne. Melbourne never again held any office though he lived up to 1848. Melbourne was a failure in office, not so much because he lacked ability as because he was a politician without convictions. By connexion a Whig, his views leaned to the Conservative side, and as such he wished to leave things as they were. He was moved to profound indignation at Peel's conversion to Free Trade. At a dinner at Windsor some allusion was made to the expected repeal of Corn Laws. Melbourne who was sitting next the Queen, at once broke out "Madam, it is a damned dishonest act." The Queen laughed and tried to quiet him, but he repeated "I say it is a very dishonest act". The difference of opinion did not impair the queen's regard for him, but it made his presence at Windsor an embarrassment ; and he was driven back more and more to the books which he loved so well and knew well how to read. Melbourne is chiefly remembered in history as the statesman under whom Queen Victoria served her political apprenticeship. By temperament and training he was perfectly fitted to guide a young Queen. He was in the highest sense a man of the world, without prejudice and disguise. The Queen's letters express her high appreciation of the Minister's service and talents. She confessed that he was 'to her quite a parent.'

Section 3.

active
Sir Robert Peel's Ministry* 1841-46. The Queen commissioned Peel to form a government. The Duke of Wellington was to lead the House of Lords (became Commander-in-chief in 1842), Lord Lyndhurst became Lord Chancellor, Lord Aberdeen Foreign Secretary, Lord Stanley Colonial Secretary, Sir James Graham Home Secretary, Henry Goulburn Chancellor of the Exchequer. Later on two men entered the Cabinet: Sidney Herbert (Secretary at War) and Gladstone (President of the Board of Trade, and then Colonial Secretary). The Cabinet was strong in administrative talent; but it was Peel who controlled all. "You have been Prime Minister" Gladstone said to Peel in 1846, "in a sense in which no other man has been it since Mr. Pitt's time." He kept in touch with all departments of government and secured by frequent discussions collective responsibility for Cabinet actions.

Condition of Affairs. The situation when Peel became Prime Minister, was grave. 'Embarrassing wars in China and Afghanistan; difficulties of various kinds in Canada, the West Indies, and South Africa: at home, terrible distress among the poor; accute commercial depression; much unemployment; a falling revenue and a rapidly mounting deficit. "Can there be," asked Peel in 1841, "a more lamentable picture than that of a Chancellor of the Exchequer seated on an empty chest, by the pool of bottomless deficiency, fishing for a Budget!" A series of bad harvests combined with the Corn Laws had made matters worse in 1841-2. Prices were very high and wages were very low. One person in every eleven was a pauper and one person in every five hundred was

* This was Peel's second Ministry, the first being a short-lived one from Nov. 1834 to Ap. 1835.

committed for trial. Peel wrote to Croker "We must make this country, a cheep country for living." That was what was required. But how was it to be done? The Chartists would have advised the Premier to accept their six points. But the Premier proposed fiscal reforms.

Peel's Budget of 1842. When the session began in 1842 February, the Queen's speech drew the attention of the Parliament to the state of finances and to the laws affecting the import of corn and other articles. The Whigs had exhausted the old system of raising revenue by means of customs and excise. Duties were levied on 1200 articles. Sydney Smith has thus vividly painted the state of things: "The school boy whips his taxed top; the beardless youth manages his taxed horse with a taxed bridle on a taxed road. The dying Englishman, pouring his medicine which has paid 7 per cent into a spoon which has paid 15 p. c., flings himself back on his chintz bed which has paid 22 p. c., makes his will with an £8 stamp, and expires in the hands of an apothecary who has paid a license of £100 for the privilege of putting him to death. His whole property is then immediately taxed from 2 to 10 p.c. Large fees are demanded for burying in the chancel; his virtues are handed down to posterity on taxed marble; and he is then gathered to his fathers—to be taxed no more." In spite of this, the Whigs when they were driven from office, left a total deficit of some ten million pounds. Peel now tried the opposite policy of reducing the duties and thereby of increasing consumption and hence revenue. He himself (not the Chancellor of the Exchequer) introduced the Budget in March 1842 proposing (a) a modification of the Corn Laws, (b) imposition of income tax, and (c) sweeping alterations in the tariff.

At this time there was a sliding scale of corn duties: when the home price of corn rose above 73s. per quarter, the

import duty was reduced to 1s., when it was between 64s. and 69s. the duty was 16s. 8d., and when under 64s. the duty was 25s. 8d. Peel modified this scale : when the price was at or over 73s. importation was to be subject only to the registration duty of 1s., when the price varied between 50 and 51s., the maximum duty of 20s. was to be levied ; there was to be a graduated scale of duty between the two extremes of prices. While refusing on the one hand to protect the class interests of the landlords, he, on the other, refused to be a party to a measure making England dependent upon foreign countries for any considerable portion of its supply of corn.

Faced with a large deficit and convinced of the futility of the old methods of raising revenue, Peel appealed to the possessors of property to allow him to impose an income tax of 7d. in the £ for incomes of £150 per annum and upwards. He limited its duration to 3 years and excluded Ireland from its meshes, placing there in its stead an extra shilling per gallon on spirits. Before this, property tax had once been imposed as a war measure but at the end of the war (Napoleonic) it had been abolished. Now Peel introduced it in time of peace and as a temporary expedient. But since then it has remained an important source of national revenue.

The income tax enabled Peel to lower the tariff extensively. The duties on no less than 750 articles were reduced. The principles underlying the sweeping changes in the tariff were explained by him. "With respect to raw materials which constitute the elements of our manufacture, our object, speaking generally, has been to reduce the duties on them to almost a *nominal* amount. On half-manufactured articles which enter almost as much as the raw material into our domestic manufacture, we have reduced the duty to a *moderate* amount, and with regard to completely manufactured articles

our design has been to remove prohibition and to reduce prohibitory duties, so that manufactures of foreign countries may not enter into a fair competition with our own. The result of this tariff will be materially to diminish the charge of living in this country" Besides diminution of import duties, some export duties were repealed. These were the prominent features of the Budget of 1842. But owing to some miscalculation about the income tax, the deficit was not made up in 1843. But Peel adhered to the same principles. In 1844 the Chancellor of the Exchequer was able to announce a realised surplus of more than two million pounds sterling. This enabled the Chancellor to reduce or abolish the duties on glass, vinegar, coffee, currants and wool. And it was laid down that the duty on any raw material was thenceforward not to exceed 5 p.c., that on any partly manufactured article 10 p.c. Thus the principles of 1842 were carried further and given definite shape to in 1844. But the Budget of this year is unimportant as compared with that of 1842 or those of 1845 and '46. The year 1844 is famous for two other measures.

Measures of 1844 ; Currency and Conversion. In 1819 Peel as President of the Bullion Committee had established the principle that all bank notes should on demand be payable in-cash. Since that time trade had increased enormously and many banks had been established in the country. In 1839 there was a crisis and a consequent run, especially on the Bank of England. Peel saw with dismay how the country banks kept on increasing their paper issues without being able to meet their note obligations. He now determined to check this over-issue and thus complete the work begun in 1819. The Bank Charter Act 1844 contained three main provisions. The banking department of England was separated from the issue department which was placed under stringent regulations.

The Bank could issue notes worth £14 millions against government securities ; but for every note issued beyond this sum there must be kept in the vault of the Bank, a corresponding amount of bullion, 75 p.c. of which should be gold and the remaining 25 p.c. silver. In this way, the convertibility of the notes was secured. By a third provision, the issues of the existing country banks were restricted to the value of £ 8,500,000 ; and banks to be established after the date of this Act were forbidden to issue paper money. The Act was one of the greatest financial achievements of Peel. Contemporary criticism was mainly directed against the restriction of the currency and the limitation of the Bank's power to use its credit. But a stronger argument against the Act was that it did not provide for seasons of panic. But subsequent events show that in times of crisis such as those of 1847 and 1866, the State invariably came to the help of the Bank and in some cases suspended the operation of the Act. Thus experience has proved the soundness of the Act, and the prescience of Sir Robert Peel and Lord Overstone.*

The second measure of 1844 was the conversion of Consols. The measure spoke well for the recovery of the trade and for the public confidence reposed in the Prime Minister. As a result the price of consols had risen from 89 to 99. These made it possible for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to lower the rate of interest from $3\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. to $3\frac{1}{4}$ p.c. and after ten years, to 3 p.c. The stocks whose interest was thus reduced, amounted to £250 millions. Hence this conversion secured a substantial saving by way of interest. In 1842 the charge for

* Jones Loyd, afterwards Lord Overstone, was a London banker of rare sagacity. His evidence before the House of Commons Committee of 1846 was remarkable for its soundness. His suggestions were accepted by Sir Robert.

debt was about £29½ millions whereas in 1852 it was about £28 millions.

Budget of 1845. Peel had in 1842 adopted a new method of meeting Budget deficits and of encouraging manufactures and cheapening food. By 1844 there was a surplus and between 1842 and 1844 the trades of the country had increased by 25 p.c. Speaking generally, his policy was to remit indirect taxation and to substitute in its place direct taxation* in the shape of income tax. He saw more clearly than the Anti-Corn Law manufacturers that the income tax was 'the key that would unlock the Free Trade cupboard.' Hence in 1845 he continued the policy begun in 1842 with greater boldness and confidence. It was a great step in the direction of Free Trade, and the Budgets of 1842 and '45 are called Free Trade Budgets. During 1843-44 he merely watched the operations of his experiment.

The second Free Trade Budget of 1845 proposed the continuation of the income tax for a further period of 3 years. The Premier explained to the House that if the income tax were dropped there would be a deficiency, if it were continued there would be a surplus of nearly three and a half millions. This surplus was to be utilised in reducing or abolishing the duties. The remaining export duties are to be repealed; import duties on 430 articles (nearly all raw materials) were to be taken out of the tariff altogether; and the excise duties on glass and auction were to be abolished. The proposals of 1845 were not simply a continuation of the policy of 1842; but a new principle, that of absolutely repealing instead of merely reducing duties, was introduced. The Budget was hotly discussed and attacked. Benjamin Disraeli became the

* In 1841 direct taxation gave 27 p.c. of the national revenue; in 1861, 33 p.c.; and in 1901, 50 p.c. Posterity approved Peel's methods.

mouthpiece of the landed interests or protectionists. Excluded in 1841 from even a minor post in the administration, he now vented his pique on the Premier and denounced the Conservative Government as an organised hypocrisy. As a matter of fact, the proposals put a severe strain on the loyalty of even Peel's followers. Stanley reported from the House of Lords that "our men looked sulky". However the Budget was passed. The Budget of 1846 is memorable for the revision of the corn duties and it will be treated separately. But in addition to this, the Budget of 1846, it may be mentioned in this connexion, further reduced the duties on raw materials like timber and tallow ; it diminished the duties on manufactured articles from about 20 p. c. to about 10 p. c., thus taking away the protection the manufacturers had hitherto enjoyed ; it also benefited consumers directly by reducing the duties on articles like soap and candle, cheese and butter, shoes and boots. But the outstanding feature of the Budget was the repeal of the Corn Laws to which we now turn.

The Anti-Corn Law League ; the Repeal. It has been mentioned in connexion with the Melbourne Ministry that the social distress led to two rather antagonistic movements. We have already dwelt with the political movement, Chartism. We now pass on to the economic movement directed towards the repeal of the Corn Laws. As early as 1836 an association in opposition to the Corn Laws had been formed in London. But the headquarters of the agitation were transferred in 1838 to Manchester, a suitable place for a movement of manufacturers and artisans. It was in 1839 that the association was changed into the Anti-Corn League with a regular organisation centred in Manchester. Tracts and pamphlets poured all over the country ; lecturers went from town to town and village to village ; public meetings were held and large sums were

collected to carry on the agitation ; and at the suggestion of the leaders the artisans invested their savings in cottage property to qualify themselves for the 40s. franchise, and by 1844 something like 5000 voters were added to the country registers of Lancashire, Yorkshire and Cheshire. The League became a force in moulding public opinion. *The Times*, which had consistently opposed the Repeal agitation, at last confessed (1843) that "the League was a great fact". It was no doubt led and organised by middle-class manufacturers ; but it united not only capital and labour in the town but also labour in the town with labour in the country ; for the agricultural labourers fared very ill under the Corn Laws which benefited only the landlords. No argument of the Leaguers was more telling than the production on the platform of an agricultural labourer who said with great truth : "I be protected, and I be starving".

The two leaders of the movement was Richard Cobden and John Bright. Apart from both being manufacturers, they were admirably fitted for the task. Cobden was a master of persuasive reasoning and unadorned eloquence, rendered convincing by pointed examples. Bright's rushing spate of impassioned oratory carried his audience with him. Both became M. P.'s, and in the Parliament the battle was fought with uncommon tenacity of purpose. In fact the leaders had greater success with Ministers than with the people at large. In Parliament, Villiers had charge of the annual motion for the repeal of the Corn Laws ; his motion was rejected every year by a large majority ; but the majority was diminishing every year. Cobden and Bright were always unwearied in their efforts to convince the House of the necessity of the repeal of Corn Laws. On one occasion early in 1845 Peel crumpled up the notes he was taking to reply Cobden's arguments and said to Sidney Herbert, "You must answer this, for I cannot".

Let us now trace the history of Peel's conversion to the League. When Russell proposed a fixed duty on corn in 1841, Peel declared himself in favour of a graduated scale. The scale of corn duties fixed in 1828 was high and he reduced it in 1842. In the same year he refused to receive a deputation from the League. By the Budgets of 1843-5 he did all that he could without violating the principle of the Corn Law which was the ark of the Tory Covenant. But it was during these years that his confidence in the necessity or advantage of Protection even of corn, was shaken as he observed with delight the increasing consumption of the articles which he had cheapened by reducing the duties. Secondly, the difficulties in the way of maintaining the Corn Law were being increasingly aggravated by the marvellously organised work of the Leaguers and by the lucid streams of reasoning poured out by Cobden and Bright. He was intending to apprise the Conservative party of his change of views when came the report of the potato disease in Ireland (Aug. 1845). In September it became clear that the potato crop would fail; and on that crop depended four millions of people for sustenance. What was worse, the English harvest of the year was destroyed by rain. Peel saw that the only effectual remedy was the removal of impediments to foreign corn. But how could he, being a Tory pledged to Protection, take off the import duties on corn above all? Peel struggled hard with his conscience. "I never in my life" wrote Wellington to Croker "witnessed such agony". On the other hand the opportunity for Cobden and Bright had come. "Famine itself," said Bright, "against which we had warred, joined us". Peel summoned the Cabinet on Oct. 31 and explained the necessity of repeal. But he had only three supporters—Graham (Home), Aberdeen (Foreign) and Sidney Herbert (Secretary at War). At another meeting on Nov. 6, his proposal to suspend the Corn

Laws for a limited period by an Order in Council was rejected. While Peel's mind was in a state of indecision as to the course to be taken, Russell issued (Nov. 22, 1845) his famous letter from Edinburgh to his constituents in London announcing his conversion to Free Trade, and his intention "to put an end to a system which has proved to be the blight of commerce, the bane of agriculture, the cause of penury among the people and the source of bitter divisions among classes". The Premier again met his Cabinet, but again he found the majority obdurate. On Dec. 5 he resigned. The Queen asked Russell to form a government. After a fortnight he however informed the Queen of his inability to obey her command, and "handed back with courtesy the poisoned chalice to Sir Robert". So Peel came back and formed his third Cabinet with the exclusion of Stanley whose place at the Colonial Office was taken by Gladstone.

On Jan. 22, 1846 the Queen opened the Parliament with a cautious speech. Russell and Peel in rather insipid speeches, gave a brief explanation of the events of the recess. A few days after Peel disclosed his proposals. Some points of the Budget of 1846 have already been noted. With regard to the Corn Laws, it was proposed that after Feby. 1, 1859 the duties on oats, barley and wheat were to be reduced to one shilling and during the interval the duty was to be 10s. when the home price exceeded 53s.

The Corn Law was repealed with the help of the Whigs under Russell. The Conservative Protectionists organised under the nominal leadership of Lord George Bentinck. But the wrath of the country gentlemen of England was poured on the Prime Minister by an irresponsible genius, Benjamin Disraeli who made himself their mouthpiece and whose readiness of resources and skill in oratory eminently fitted him for the

work. The plan was to prolong the debate. But all tactics failed, and the Bill passed the House of Commons ; and it was carried through the House of Lords by the influence of the Duke of Wellington. Though the passing of the Bill could not be prevented, Disraeli's philippics broke Peel's prestige and party and finally drove him out of office. However adversely the political fortunes of Peel might have been affected, it is unanimously admitted that the measure advanced the material prosperity of the country.

Lord George Bentinck rightly pointed out the illogicality of meeting an impending crisis by freeing corn of duty three years later. The famine in Ireland was merely the occasion ; and for mitigating Irish distress Peel had taken separate measures. By Free Trade, he looked forward to meeting the expanding needs of the people of England. By postponing the repeal by three years he soothed the alarm of the agricultural interest and smoothed the passage of his Bill. The comparative ease with which the country was induced to accept Free Trade was largely due to the influence that the writings of Adam Smith and Bentham exercised on English thought. The doctrine of individualism, of unhampered human activities, had been dominating English thought of which Free Trade was an outward expression. The battle of Free Trade, it has been said, had been won in the intellectual sphere long before it was fought out in the political arena.

Social Legislation. Disraeli in his novel *Sybil* (1845) remarked "There is more serfdom in England now than at any time since the Conquest". The brooding imaginativeness of Disraeli enabled him to see the squalor of the labouring classes and his literary talents to depict it with marvellous vividness. During the struggle over Free Trade, manufacturers like Cobden and Bright often alluded to the distress of the agricultural

labourers, and the country gentleman in reply pointed to the oppression of the children in mines and factories. This process of mutual exposure by the two classes of employers, a great feature of politics in the forties, was useful to the employees who were politically dumb and socially depressed. The members of Parliament who fought hard to improve the condition of the poor were Lord Ashley and Sir Robert Inglis. As early as 1840 at the instance of Ashley a commission had been appointed to enquire into the employment of children underground. The first instalment of the Report came in 1842 and it disclosed many hideous facts,—one of which was that boys and girls, naked to the waist and on all fours, were forced to drag carts of coal by means of girdle and chain attached to their waists and legs. “Brutal cruelty, a total loss of all sense of decency or modesty, drinking, fighting—in fact, complete savagery marked the collier life”. The Mines Act of 1842 prohibited work underground in mines and collieries, for women and girls and for boys under ten years of age; regulations were laid down for the prevention of accidents and limited the employment of apprentices to 8 years. Had Ashley had the necessary support, he would have gone further; but as it was, the Act made a good beginning in the regulation of child labour by the State. The second Report of the aforesaid Commission appeared in 1843. The main evil pointed out was that children were apprenticed sometimes from four years of age and for a very long time during which they got only food and clothing and no wages. Graham, the Home Secretary, took up the cause and tried to improve the condition of factory children. In 1843 he failed. Next session he succeeded. By the Factory Act 1844 children between 8 and 13 years of age were not to work for more than 6½ hours a day; Saturdays were to be half-days. The proposal to limit the

working hours of young persons to 10 hours a day, fell through ; and it remained 12 hours as before. Dangerous machinery was to be railed off and a standard of sanitation was established. Home Office inspectors were appointed to enforce the regulations. This Act was carried after much opposition, especially from men like Cobden and others of the Manchester school of thought who stuck to their individualist doctrine of *laissez-faire*. Even Peel's affinities, as Ashley tells us, were towards wealth and capital which were hard hit by the factory legislation.

The humanitarian spirit of the time manifested itself in the Lunacy Act of 1842. The lunatic asylums instead of being hospitals were prisons where the insane received very harsh treatment. In 1839 Dr. Conolly, medical officer at Hanway Jail, found 600 instruments of restraint—straps, coercion-chairs, leg-locks and the like. By the Act of 1842 the provincial asylums were to be inspected and the evils of the system pointed out. In 1845 Ashley brought in two Bills, by one, a permanent Commission was established for the regulation and inspection of the lunatic asylums, and by the other, it was intended to convert the asylum from a prison into a hospital, for the better and more humane treatment of the lunatics.

Ecclesiastical movements. There were two movements in the forties, agitating the Church of Scotland and the Church of England. The movement in the Scotch Church was against lay patronage. Dr. Chalmers, one of the leaders, claimed uncontrolled management of ecclesiastical affairs free from any authority of the State. It led in 1843 to the establishment of the Free Church. The Oxford or Tractarian movement in the Church of England protested against the impiety of State interference with endowment and organisation of the Church, such as the Liberal Governments had undertaken ; it insisted upon the Church being considered as a living society, divinely

founded and divinely guided. It was led by John Keble and John Henry Newman and others advocating reforms in the Catholic direction. Though it did not create any fissure in the Church, Newman and Ward ultimately became Catholic.

Fall of Peel. Peel's Irish policy will be found in its proper place. To suppress an outbreak of lawlessness in Ireland, Peel introduced *Life Preservation Bill* to invest magistrates and police with greater powers. This was the opportunity for his enemies. The Corn Bill had destroyed his hold on the House. Now the Whigs who had helped in the matter of repeal, joined his enemies. The very evening that the corn Bill passed the House of Lords, the Life Preservation Bill was thrown out in the Commons by a coalition of the Whigs seeking office and the Protectionists seeking revenge. Cobden voted against the Government. Peel resigned (June 1846). He never again held office, though he lived up to 1850 when he died of the effects of a fall from his horse. But during these 4 years he was a great force in politics and of immense value to the Whig Government of Russell.

Career of Sir Robert Peel ; his statesmanship. Peel was born in 1788 ; entered Parliament in 1809 ; appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland in 1812 ; was the Home Secretary in the Wellington Ministry (1827-30) when he carried the Catholic Emancipation Act (1829) allowing the Catholics to sit in Parliament. He formed his second administration in 1841. Some observations on his character and statesmanship may be made.

He was stiff and reserved externally but at heart warm and sympathetic. The Queen's first impression (1839) was that he was an odd, cold, shy man ; later on (1846) her opinion was that he was loyal and chivalrous. Secondly, he took no

pains to court the mediocrities of his party : and his mind was too judicial for their liking. There is no doubt that he was no great party leader. Thirdly, his mind was teachable and open to conviction, even by a political opponent. The Repeal incident of 1846 fully proves this. And at the time of resigning office he did not scruple to pay a very warm eulogy to Richard Cobden for the success of Free Trade movement. Fourthly, he considered that duty to his party came second to duty to his country. In view of these it is easy to see why he sacrificed the principles of his party in 1829 and in 1846. Judged by the conventional standard of party ethics, Peel's conduct cannot be justified. He had no right to use for one purpose the power which had been given to him for another. He was chosen leader to maintain Protection, but when in power, he did away with it. Hence it was that Disraeli put him on a level with a nurse who had dashed the brains of her charge. Peel ought to have informed his constituents of his change of view. Besides the explanation given of his change of opinion, the remark of Guizot should be borne in mind, that Peel was by nature the most liberal of Conservatives and the most conservative of Liberals. Fifthly, it has sometimes been held that Peel lacked originality, that he was a burglar of other men's ideas. In the matter of reform of Criminal Laws (1823) he was influenced by Romilly and Mackintosh and in Free Trade by Cobden and Bright. Disraeli expressed it by saying (1846) that Peel caught the Whigs bathing and walked away with their clothes. McCarthy is of opinion that 'originality in politics, as in every field of art, consists in the use and application of ideas which we get or are given to us'. Peel saw that the time had come for translating the principles of Free Trade into practical legislation ; and in doing so he not only gave proof of genuine statesmanship but of courage of conviction. The next remarkable thing was Peel's

hold on the House of Commons. Even Disraeli once said that he played upon the House of Commons as upon an old fiddle. Sir Edward Knatchbull, a staunch Tory of the time, wrote: "I never in my time saw a minister who possessed more absolute power in the House of Commons than Peel. In the House he is everything—but there his power ceases. By his power in the House of Commons alone does he keep his party together. Out of the House his conduct is well calculated to destroy it. Cold and uncourteous to every one—even to his colleagues in office, who appear to be afraid to differ from him—at times in manner he is almost insolent". Lastly, Peel will be remembered for his financial and commercial reforms. He gave the people cheap food, the manufacturers cheap raw materials and thus paved the way for that "victorious commercialism which for at least a generation, made Great Britain the mart, the entrepot, the banking centre and the ocean-carrier of the world". It has been said that he was essentially the minister of the business classes. His reforms prove that; but they benefited the people also. He uttered no empty boast when he said in his last speech as minister: "I shall leave behind a name remembered with expressions of goodwill in the abodes of those whose lot it is to earn their bread by the sweat of their brows, when they shall recruit their exhausted strength with *abundant* and *untaxed* food, the sweeter because no longer leavened with a sense of injustice".

SECTION 4.

Lord John Russell's First Administration 1846-52.
On Peel's resignation (June 1846) Russell was asked to form a government which he did. Circumstances had changed since his failure to form an administration in December last: Peel's action had disorganised the Conservative party. Lord John

was the only alternative. Palmerston became Foreign Secretary ; Grey, Colonial Secretary ; Sir Charles Wood, Chancellor of the Exchequer ; Lord Lansdowne, President of the Council and leader of the House of Lords ; and Labouchere, Irish Secretary. 18842

Russell's Cabinet was on a narrow Whig basis. It did not include either any Peelite or any Cobdenite or Radical. It has been called by Herbert Paul, the Last Whig Administration. "It was in fact the last government entirely dominated by the great Whig noble families that had overthrown the Stuarts (1688) ruled England under the two Georges, and returned to power in 1830 as the party of Parliamentary Reform. After Russell's Ministry, the Whig party gradually developed into the Liberal party, that is to say, it submitted itself, like the Tory party, to the control of middle-class men, of whom Gladstone was by far the most important. But the change was gradual and the Whig element in the party remained powerful down to the Home Rule split of 1886. Then most of the great Whig families crossed over to the Conservative side."

Domestic Events. Late in the Summer of 1847 there was a General Election. The Ministerialists had a majority of 99 over the Protectionists ; the Peelites who generally supported the Whigs, numbered 105. In the same year there was a *Commercial Crisis*. The failure of the harvest in 1846 and of the potato crop, had rendered necessary a large importation of corn, more than could be paid for in goods, and hence money had to be sent out of the country. But the immediate cause of the crisis was the railway mania. In 1845 the railway companies proposed to raise £700 millions of new capital. The money was to be eventually obtained and the expenses met by advances from banks and dealers in money. These raised the rate of discount. In spite of this, the run

for money continued and even increased. The smash came in 1847 when many houses stopped payment ; Consols fell to 78 ; fall in the price of corn and dullness of the market for manufactures aggravated the crisis. The government authorised the Bank of England to enlarge the discount and to issue notes without legal reserve in specie and promised in case of infringement of the Charter Act of 1844, to indemnify it by an act of Parliament. The knowledge that further accommodation was within reach, checked the panic. The action of the government received the approval of both Houses. In 1847 was passed by large majorities a *Factory Bill* introduced by Mr. Fielden, M. P. for Oldham. It limited the work, in textile factories, of young persons between the ages of 13 and 18 to 10 hours a day. The Bill passed inspite of the opposition of the most respected M.P.'s—Peel, Graham and Lord Brougham who argued that it would diminish the wages of labourers and the profits of manufacturers. One view is that Fielden's *Factory Act* was a victory of the people of England over official England ; another view puts it down as the revenge of the landlords upon the manufacturers for reform and free trade. Both are right. The Act involved a defeat for the Manchester School who advocated individualism. But the Manchester School had its revenge in 1849 when the *Navigation Laws* were removed from the Statute-book. Formerly the Navigation Laws required that no merchandise could be imported into England save in English vessels. This had been modified in the twenties. But England and the colonies, and between colony and colony, transportation was restricted to British ships or to ships of the colony to which the goods belonged. Canada in the absence of her own ships, could only export in British bottoms for which however the freights charged by the ship-owners were very high. The result was that Canadian corn

could not be sold as cheap as American corn. Labouchere now President of the Board of Trade, had charge of the Bill repealing the law by which colonial goods could be imported into England in English vessels. In spite of opposition, the Bill passed ; and the last vestige of the Navigation Laws was swept away. Graham roundly informed the House that if the Bill were rejected Canada would secede. This repeal was the logical corollary of Free Trade introduced in 1846.

Another event that struck the imagination of the contemporaries was *the Great Exhibition* of 1851 (May to Oct. 15). It was entirely due to the untiring efforts of Prince Albert who held that Art and Commerce would enable people to understand each other better and to live in peace and prosperity. It was an exhibition of the arts and industries of all nations ; and many princes and important personages of the Continent attended it. The government contributed no money but only lent a site in Hyde Park where was built the Crystal Palace of glass. Queen Victoria described the Exhibition as 'the greatest triumph of peace which the world has ever seen.' It was no doubt conceived by the idealist and men of the Manchester School, as the inauguration of a new era of world wide and unending peace and prosperity. But they were woefully deceived, for soon after broke out the Crimean War. It was, however, a definite stage in the progress of the royal family towards its modern position as the most popular institution in the country ; it displayed for the first time the royal family in the robe with which it is now associated—as the representative of the nation in matters that are beyond and above controversy. So it was something more than an advertisement of material progress.

Whig Budgets. Russell and Wood followed the financial policy of Peel. In 1846 they abolished the preference

hitherto given to English colonies. In 1847 owing to the cost of Irish famine, Wood raised a loan of £8 millions at $3\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. In 1848 there was a rumour of danger from France and the government consequently had to provide increased expenditure on armament which they proposed to do by raising the income-tax to 1s. in the £. As there was a violent outcry, it was dropped. In that year there were no less than three Budgets introduced. Ultimately large reductions were made in the army and navy estimates and the Budget deficit was met by a loan of two millions. This indecision was discreditable to the government which had never been strong in finance. Other Budgets were equally unimportant.

Ecclesiastical Affairs. The Bishop of Exeter refused to institute Gorham to a benefice in that diocese because of a certain view held by the latter. On appeal the Privy Council, as the ultimate court of appeal in ecclesiastical cases, decided in favour of Gorham. This interference of a secular Court in the matter of doctrine, was much resented. The excitement of the Gorham controversy was followed by another of a serious type. It was caused by the Bull of Pope Pius IX (Sept. 30, 1850) dividing England into 12 territorial dioceses. Lord John considered the Bull as insolent and insidious. In 1851 was passed the *Ecclesiastical Titles Act* declaring the Bull null and void, making it illegal for Roman Catholic prelates to assume territorial designations. The Act remained a dead letter till its abolition in 1871. But Russell during the excitement, gave gratuitous offence to the Tractarians and High Churchmen which only weakened Ministry further.

Fall of Russell's Ministry. The deplorable irresolution of Wood's finance and the interfering foreign policy of Palmerston had exposed the Ministry to attacks. But Peel's consistent support kept the Whigs in office; and consequently

his death on July 2, 1850, seriously weakened their position. The ecclesiastical controversies of the year made Russell unpopular. The dismissal of Palmerston in Dec. 1851 deprived the cabinet of its strongest and most popular member whose loss it could not survive. In 1851 Mr. Locke-King carried against the government a motion for the extension of county franchise. Russell resigned. But, on the decline of Lord Stanley to form a government, he came back. In Feb. 1852 the Premier brought in a *Militia Bill*. Palmerston moved an amendment making the militia generally available as an army reserve ; and it was carried against the government. Russell resigned. Palmerston light-heartedly wrote to his brother, "I have my tit-for-tat with John Russell and I turned him out on Friday last."

Section 5.

First Derby Cabinet, Feb. to Dec. 1852. Others refusing, Lord Derby (Lord Stanley), the leader of the Conservative Protectionists, formed his first government, though his party was in a clear minority in the House of Commons. The Peelites refused to join it. Disraeli became Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Malmesbury Foreign Secretary, Spencer Walpole Home Secretary, Sir John Pakington Colonial Secretary. The new government was a makeshift ; its members were inexperienced recruits ; it had no majority in the lower House. It judiciously decided to go along the line of least resistance.

Domestic Events. The first thing that the Ministry did was to pass the Militia Bill as amended by Palmerston. The new force was made available for service in any part of the United Kingdom, and it was to be recruited by voluntary enlistment, the compulsory ballot being reserved for emer-

gencies. The reason for the Militia Act was the uneasiness caused by the rumoured peril from France. Disraeli then produced his first Budget : he continued the income tax for another year and made no attempt to revive Protection. His Budget gained the approval of the Opposition. After winding up the business of the session, Parliament was dissolved in July. The results of the Election showed that the country was decidedly against Protection. When Parliament met in November, a resolution was adopted by the House by which Free Trade was to be firmly maintained and prudently extended. Disraeli himself declared that Protection was not only dead but damned. The Ministry then determined to stake its existence on the Budget which was introduced on Dec. 3. Protection having been abandoned, Disraeli confined himself to proposing that agricultural interest should be compensated for its losses by other means : the malt tax was to be halved, the tea duty was to be lowered from 2s. 2¼d. to 1s. ; the income tax was to be assessed on one-third of the farmer's rental instead of one-half ; and the downward taxable limit for industrial incomes was fixed at £100 and for incomes derived from property at £50 ; and the house duty was raised and extended to houses of £10 rateable value. On this last proposal the government was defeated and Derby resigned (Dec. 20, 1852).

Death of the Duke of Wellington 1769-1852. The Duke died on Sept. 14, 1852 when the Election, mentioned above, was going on. There was at once a truce of all political parties to mourn for the death of one who had lived and died in unanimous possession of love and respect alike of the sovereign and of the country. But England mourned not for the soldier—for his services were not required for a generation—but for the man. His greatness was moral, not intellectual.

Office to him meant the fulfilment of duty and he was never actuated by self-interest. He however had little sympathy with the new England ; and the signs of the times meant little to him. It was for the Crown as the greatest institution in the country that he was prepared to risk everything. His last great service was in 1846. Preferring Free Trade to a Government of Cobden and Co., he supported Peel and undertook 'to discipline the Lords'.

Section 6.

The Coalition Ministry of Aberdeen, Dec. 1852—Jany. 1855. Disraeli, when relinquishing office, said, "This I know that England does not love coalitions". He was aware of the negotiations for a coalition of the Whigs and the Peelites, and he prophesied the fate of such a ministry. Though Derby and his party had buried Protection, still a healing of the old breach with the Peelites seemed as far off as ever. They preferred coalition with the Whigs. Aberdeen, the Peelite leader became Prime Minister with Gladstone, another Peelite, as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Russell went to the Foreign office, Palmerston to the Home and the Duke of Newcastle to the Colonial. Sidney Herbert became Secretary at War, Sir James Graham (a Whig) the first Lord of the Admiralty. In all the Peelites secured six seats in the Cabinet and the Whigs six, and the thirteenth member was Palmerston who was his own party. In the House of Commons, however, the Peelites stood to the Whigs as one to nine. The Cabinet was very strong in administrative capacity. But its very strength was a source of anxiety and weakness. Men like Russell, Palmerston and Gladstone were not likely to yield their own opinions. Aberdeen was hardly adapted by temperament to control or restrain dissentient colleagues.

Gladstone's Budgets. In Ap. 1853 Gladstone as Chancellor of the Exchequer introduced the first of his Budgets which were to make him famous. The pivot of his Budget of 1853 was the income tax. Disraeli had continued it for one year and it was to expire in 1853. Gladstone decided to renew it for the next seven years, and also to render it more efficient by extending it to Ireland and applying it to incomes varying from £100 to £150 a year. He however proposed its gradual reduction with a view to its ultimate abolition : for the first two years its rate was to stand at 7*d.* in the £, for the next two years at 6*d.* and for the last three years at 5*d.*, and after that, it was to cease altogether from 1860. His second proposal was to extend to all successions, the legacy duty which had hitherto pressed lightly on holders of real property only. He designed the succession duty as the first among other projected reforms which were intended to provide for the ultimate abolition of the income tax. The legacy duty had far less success as a source of revenue than had been anticipated. The third item of the financial proposal was the increase of duties on Irish and Scottish distilleries. The anticipated surplus from these sources of revenue was to be utilized in abolishing the duties on soap and 123 other articles and reducing those on 133 more including tea. These great and drastic changes placed the Budget on the same plane with Peel's measures of 1842, 1845—46 ; and they were explained with a lucidity and eloquence which placed their author in the front rank of parliamentary statesmen. But Gladstone's scheme had no chance of success for it depended upon peace for at least seven years ; but the Crimean War disarranged the national balance-sheet. Before Gladstone resigned early in 1855, he introduced another Budget in May 1854. He estimated the war expenditure at more than £8 millions which he proposed

to meet by doubling the income tax to 14*d.* and by raising the duties on salt, Scotch and Irish spirits and sugar. On this occasion he emphatically denounced the fiscal policy of meeting war expenses by loans. "The expenses of war", said he, "are a check which it has pleased the Almighty to impose on the ambitions and lust of conquest inherent in so many nations...

...The system of raising funds necessary for war by loan, practises wholesale and continual fraud upon the people". He considered it immoral and uneconomic to tax the future generations for the sins of the present. In spite of increase in the duties and taxes, Gladstone had to take recourse to Exchequer Bills and Bonds to meet extraordinary expenditure.

Resignation of Aberdeen. It is a strange irony of political destiny that the most pacific Minister of England had to plunge the country in a war which a large section of public opinion held and still holds, as useless and aggressive. As a matter of fact Aberdeen was drawn into it. The declaration of the Crimean War was to a large extent due to dissensions in the Cabinet.

When Russell accepted the second place in the Cabinet, he entertained hope of the first. Aberdeen, devoid as he was of personal ambition, was willing to resign but his colleagues would not accept Russell as the Premier. While it was possible for Aberdeen to resign in the early part of 1853, it became difficult for him to do so, as the year wore on; for the negotiations were in progress on whose issue peace and war depended. Unable to improve his position in the Cabinet, Russell took to his favourite scheme of Parliamentary Reform. This proved to be another source of embarrassment to the Ministry at a time when all its energies were required for the vigorous conduct of the war. Moreover Palmerston who disliked Reform at home, resigned office at Russell's proposal of

it. And a Cabinet crisis arose. But Russell withdrew his Reform Bill and the fall of the Ministry was averted (Ap. 1854).

The Crimean War was dragging on its course. The mismanagement of the war and the sufferings of soldiers were reported to the Press which for the first time maintained representatives at the war front. Public indignation was roused by the report of the maladministration of the war ; and when Parliament met on July 23, 1855, John Roebuck gave notice that he would move for a Select Committee to to enquire into "the condition of our army before Sebastopol and into the conduct of those departments of the Government whose duty it has been to minister to the wants of that army." The notice at once produced Lord John Russell's resignation. His retirement made the defence of the Ministry impossible. When the motion was carried, Aberdeen resigned (Feb. 1855). Thus ended ingloriously the career of a Minister who in happier circumstances might have been remembered as a great British statesman. To him war was an absurd way of settling international disputes, and as Foreign Secretary he had shown consummate tact in getting such disputes settled by amicable discussions. By temperament he was unfit for leadership in a time of storm and stress ; and moreover, he had not the personality to impose his will on a divided Cabinet.

Section 7.

Palmerston's First Cabinet, Feby 1855—58. On Aberdeen's resignation the Queen summoned Derby who sounded the Peelites who refused to join. She next had recourse to Lord Lansdowne, Nestor of the Whig party, who however, declined on the score of ill-health. Russell who

was very much willing, found to his surprise that no body was willing to serve under him. So Palmerston was the inevitable choice and he formed his administration. Gladstone, Graham and Sedney Herbert joined him ; but when Roebuck pressed for the appointment of the Committee of Enquiry, they seceded from the Ministry on the ground that such an investigation was a 'dangerous breach of a great constitutional principle.' •Palmerston reconstructed his Cabinet. Sir George Cornwall Lewis became Chancellor of the Exchequer ; Clarendon Foreign Secretary ; Sir George Grey Home Secretary ; Sir Charles Wood First Lord of the Admiralty.

Domestic affairs. The Roebuck Committee sat and reported. It referred to the mismanagement of the war in general terms and blamed the system and not the men entrusted with the administration of the system. Thus the apprehensions of the Peelites who seceded from Palmerston, were falsified. But the system was reorganised : the Board of Ordnance was abolished and its functions were transferred, as those of the Secretary at War, to the department under the Secretary for War. In the Commander-in-chief was concentrated the military administration of the army and in the Secretary for War the whole civil administration *e.g.*, army finance, medical, ordnance. The office of the Secretary at War was not finally abolished till 1863 ; and the system was further simplified in 1870 (*vide infra*).

Next we pass on to the well-known *Wensleydale Peerage Case*. In 1856 with a view to strengthen the appellate jurisdiction of the House of Lords, the ministers advised the Queen to make Sir James Parke, an eminent baron of the Exchequer, a peer for life as Lord Wensleydale. The Lords loudly protested against the intrusion of a life peer to sit among the hereditary nobles of the realm. At the suggestion of Lord

Lyndhurst, the patent was referred to a Committee of Privilege which reported that "neither the letters-patent nor the letters patent with usual writ of summons issued in pursuance thereof, can entitle the grantee to sit and vote in Parliament." Such a case had not occurred for upwards of 400 years and it was held that a long-standing usage could only be modified by the supreme legislative authority of Parliament, and not by an order of the Crown. Lord Wensleydale under a new patent took his seat as an hereditary peer of the realm.

In 1857 was passed the *Divorce Court Act*. Down to that year the Ecclesiastical Courts had only the right of granting divorce, but the released parties were not free to marry. Rich folks used to promote Bills in order to obtain Parliamentary sanction for the contraction of fresh marriages. The Act of 1857 enabled the poor men to do what the rich had always done. It removed the hearing of divorce cases from the Ecclesiastical Courts to a new Civil Court. The measure marks a new stage in the legislation which was gradually transferring secular matters from the Courts of the Church to the Courts of the State. In the same year there was a *Financial Crisis*. It was primarily due to railway speculations in America. The Bank of England in order to protect its gold reserve, raised the rate of discount to 8 p. c. and subsequently to 10 p. c. ; while some private Banks suspended payment. Ultimately the Government came to the rescue and suspended the Bank Charter Act of 1844 and authorised the issue of notes to the value of £2 millions in excess of the legal maximum. This allayed the panic and restored public credit. Parliament later on passed an Act of Indemnity. Besides financial panic, the Ministry was throughout preoccupied with war complications. It ended the Crimean War ; it was involved in a war with China ; and there was the Sepoy Mutiny in India.

Budgets 1855-8. Sir George Cornwall Lewis, Chancellor of the Exchequer, had to provide for war expenditure. In 1855 he had to meet an estimated deficit of £23 millions which he did by a loan of £10 millions of 3½ p.c. and by increasing the income tax and the duties on tea, sugar, coffee and spirits. In 1856 in spite of considerable reduction in the army and navy estimates, the Chancellor had to face a deficit of £7 millions which was met by loans. Gladstone's principle could not be adhered to ; not only many taxes had been raised but also loans had been contracted. The income tax stood at 1s. 4d. The War added no less than £42 millions to the National Debt. Financially the Crimean War stands condemned. The main feature of the Budget of 1857 was the reduction of the income tax from 16d. to 7d. Gladstone attacked the Budget on the ground that 'it gave no relief to the poor taxpayer as the duties on articles like tea and sugar remained unreduced. However the House had confidence in Cornwall Lewis and the Budget was passed.

Fall of Palmerston. It has already been said that there was a war with China. Cobden moved and carried a motion regarding the high-handed proceedings of the Government in China. Palmerston appealed to the country (March 20, 1857). The result of the Election was a great personal triumph for the Prime Minister. The 'fortuitous concourse of atoms' that had defeated the Government were scattered. The electors rallied to the minister who, they believed, was upholding their interests ; and Palmerston was returned to power with a large majority of 85. But he was not destined to enjoy it long. An event occurred in Paris which ultimately led to his overthrow in London. Orsini and some other Italians believed that Napoleon III. of France was a serious obstacle in the way of Italian independence ; so they conspired to remove the obstacle. On

Jany. 14, 1858 bombs were thrown at the Emperor's carriage. He escaped unhurt, though some 10 men were killed. It was proved that the Orsini Plot had been hatched in London and bombs made in Birmingham. French opinion was inflamed against England. The colonels of French regiments congratulating the Emperor on his escape, called on him to lead them against England to destroy 'the assassins' den' ; Count Walewski the French Foreign Minister, denounced England in a despatch, for harbouring persons (Orsini and others had been living in England as exiles) who by their flagrant acts placed themselves under the ban of humanity. Palmerston brought in a Bill making conspiracy to murder abroad punishable with penal servitude for life. But the English people both in and out of Parliament indignant at the language of Walewski's Despatch and the gestures of the French colonels, had no fancy for a measure considered to be dictated by France. Mr. Milner Gibson moved and carried an amendment and regretted that the Government was attempting to alter the law of conspiracy before replying to the insolent despatch of the French Foreign Minister. Palmerston resigned on being thus defeated (Feby. 1858)

Section 8.

Second Derby Ministry Feby. 1858—June 1859.

Derby was entrusted to form a ministry. As before the Peelites remained obdurate, and a pure Conservative Government was formed without, as before, having a majority in the House of Commons. Disraeli became Chancellor of the Exchequer ; Lord Malmesbury Foreign Secretary ; Lord Stanley (son of the Premier) Colonial Secretary ; Lord Ellenborough President of the Board of Control ; Lord Chelmsford, Lord Chancellor ; and Spencer Walpole, Home Secretary.

Domestic Events. The existence of the new Administration depended on the sufferance of its opponents or on the differences that distracted the Liberal party. Though its tenure was so precarious, it had to solve questions of delicacy and difficulty. The strained relations with France were healed when Walewski apologised and the ill-mannered French Ambassador in London, Persigny, was recalled. After this the Ministry addressed itself to the Indian problem and an *Act for the Better Government of India* was passed placing this country under the British Crown. In 1858 Lord John Russell introduced a Bill to give relief to Jewish M. P.'s who were disqualified from sitting and voting so long as they declined to take the oath of abjuration 'on the true faith of Christian.' From 1847, when Baron Rothschild was elected to represent the City of London, the Commons had shown a growing desire to concede, and the Lords a firm determination to resist, the claim of the Jews to sit in Parliament. In 1858 when Russell's Bill passed the Commons, the Lords maintained their previous attitude. A deadlock seemed imminent. As a compromise it was decided that either House should be empowered to determine, by its resolution, the form of oath to be administered to its own members. The resolution which the Commons passed was converted two years later into a standing order and ultimately in 1866 was embodied in a Statute. The session of 1858 witnessed the abolition of the property qualifications of M. P.'s—one of the demands of the Chartists. At the commencement of the session of 1859 Disraeli introduced a Reform Bill which extended to counties the £10 occupation franchise of the boroughs and conferred votes on lodgers, fundholders, University graduates, certain schoolmasters and lawyers and medical men. These latter proposals, fancy franchises as they were derisively termed, killed the Bill on its

second reading. The Bill also cost two of the best members of the Cabinet—Walpole and Henley who objected to certain features of the Bill. On being defeated the Ministry appealed to the country. The Election strengthened the Conservative party but did not convert the minority into a majority. When the Parliament met, an amendment to the Address was moved and carried. Derby resigned.

Section 9.

Lord Palmerston's Second Administration 1859-65.

When Derby resigned, the Queen unable to decide between the claims of Palmerston and Russell, sent for a third man, Lord Granville. But he could not secure the cooperation of other Liberals. So Palmerston was sent for and he formed his second Ministry with the help of Peelites. Gladstone became Chancellor of the Exchequer; Russell Foreign Secretary; Lord Granville President of the Council; Sir George Cornwall Lewis Home Secretary; Sidney Herbert Secretary for War. This administration has sometimes been called the Government of the Triumvirate after the three leaders (Palmerston, Russell and Gladstone) whose cooperation was essential to its existence.

The year 1859 has two-fold significance. It witnessed the absorption of the Peelites in the Whig party and thus destroyed the hope of the reconstruction of the Conservative party, a hope that was once entertained by Gladstone himself. Secondly, it marked the beginning of an interval of political tranquillity or stagnation at home. This was mainly due to the anti-reform attitude of Palmerston at home and to the dramatic and all-absorbing occurrences on the Continent.

Review of Parties. In 1859 the Peelites were absorbed in the Whig party, and as such it is an important date in the

history of parties. In the thirties the Tories had dropped their name and adopted the title of Conservative. This transition from Toryism to Conservatism had been ably managed by Sir Robert Peel. The programme of the party was no longer unintelligent resistance to all change, but while opposing the violent designs of the Chartists or Radicals or the Irish party, they were quite willing to adopt cautious measures of advance in both constitutional and social legislation. This broadening of the basis of the party on the one hand and the dread of Chartism in England and repeal agitation in Ireland on the other, led many Whigs to desert to the Conservative side which was strengthened alike by the increase in number and quality under the leadership of Sir Robert Peel. The Whigs under Melbourne were divided and included the Radicals and O'Connellites. Their differences were veiled under the comprehensive title of 'Liberal' comprising all these sections. Such a party could not stand against the organised Conservatives. The Election of 1841 brought Peel to power and he would have continued long in power, had he not destroyed it by his Free-Trade policy. So severe was the blow dealt to the Conservative party in 1846 that it did not recover from it till 1874. Between these two dates the Conservatives were thrice in office but not in power. The 'repeal event' of 1846 had not only broken up the Conservatives but also to a certain extent helped to break up the Whigs. Russell had not converted the whole Whig party to Free Trade. Melbourne, for instance, was a Protectionist to the last. The manufacturing Free-traders like Cobden and Bright owned no Whig allegiance and voted as they pleased. In fact, the cross-currents set aflowing by the Free Trade question blurred the lines of party divisions and to a large extent contributed to make the Cabinets weak and short-lived. The question of party politics at issue was the

future of the Peelites. That group, as it has been remarked, had many leaders but few followers. It was, as Gladstone once said, like a roving iceberg on which no man could land with safety but with which a ship might collide with disaster. It remained aloof inspite of the abandonment of Protection by the Conservatives in 1852. By merging itself in the Liberal party it strengthened the latter and lent stability to politics.

National Defence Bill. The distrust of Napoleon III, the chameleon of the Tuilleries, was deepening in England. His annexation of Nice and Savoy, however small and reasonable (they were Piedmonetse districts inhabited by Frenchmen), created great excitement in England. Palmerston wrote: "The Emperor's mind seems as full of schemes as a warren is full of rabbits, his schemes go to ground for the moment to avoid notice or antagonism.....Of late I have begun to feel great distrust and to suspect that his formally declared intention of avenging Waterloo has only lain dormant and has not died away". The panic of a French invasion prevailed. Already during the late Ministry the Volunteer movement had been initiated. Palmerston gave full support to this volunteer movement. His Government carried a *National Defence Bill* authorising (1860) an outlay of £9 millions on the fortifications of Portsmouth, Plymouth, Chatham and Cork. There was also a provision in the Budget for an additional expenditure of £4½ millions on army and navy. Gladstone, Chancellor of the Exchequer, opposed such high estimates, but gave way in the end. It was on this occasion that Palmerston wrote to the Queen that it would be wiser to lose Gladstone than run the risk of losing Portsmouth and Plymouth. The volunteer movement proceeded apace and nearly 180,000 men were enrolled. The dread of French invasion left behind a lasting benefit in the shape of the

'volunteer rifle corps'. The relations of the two countries were mended by the Commercial Treaty of 1860.

Commercial Treaty with France. Encouraged by Gladstone, Cobden went over to Paris and negotiated a commercial treaty in private audiences with Napoleon III (1860). An advocate of peace and Free Trade, Cobden saw in it one of the best ways of improving the relations between the two countries. It was based on reciprocity; and either government undertook to reduce the duties on the goods of the other. The treaty was objected to mainly on the ground that while it lowered for France the prices of commodities like iron and steel almost essential to her existence, for Great Britain it affected only luxuries, like silk, artificial flowers or stimulants like brandy and wine. But most people saw in it Napoleon's earnest desire to keep peace with England, and that was enough to popularise it. The treaty lasted for 20 years during which the mutual exports and imports nearly trebled. But it never permanently converted France to Free Trade principles.

Gladstonian Finance. For the second time Gladstone was placed in charge of the Exchequer and during this second tenure he carried out what he had begun in 1853. The Budget of 1859 provided for an increase of $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions in the army and navy estimates by raising the income tax from 5*d.* to 9*d.* The year 1860 was important for many reasons. The dominating fiscal fact of the year was the Cobden treaty with France. In taking sanction of the Parliament Gladstone widened the scope of the scheme and converted a measure of reciprocity into a measure of Free Trade, and made a clean sweep of duties on no less than 371 articles, leaving only 48. The termination of annuities costing more than two million pounds helped the Chancellor in this matter; and he thus

brought to perfection the reforms begun by Peel. The Chancellor was justified in speaking of 1860 as 'the last of the cardinal or organic years'. The Budget of 1860 was formed on the principles that there were to be no customs duties of a *protective* character and if at all duties were imposed for *revenue* purposes, they were to be raised upon the smallest number of articles. The anticipated loss from the abolition of customs was made up by the saving of the annuities. So far there was no hitch. But Gladstone proposed to repeal the paper duty as being a tax on knowledge; and to meet the loss thus caused, he put an extra 1*d.* on the income tax. There was much opposition to the Paper Duty Bill and it passed the House of Commons only by a narrow majority. The premier who was not for it, wrote to the Queen: "This (narrow majority of nine only) may probably encourage the House of Lords to assert itself, and Viscount Palmerston is bound in duty to say that if they do so, they will perform a good public service." This was an unusual stab in the back for a colleague. The Lords rejected the Bill. The question arose in the House of Commons if the Lords were not acting *ultra vires* in rejecting money bills. The Commons passed a series of resolutions protesting against the action of the Lords and confirming that the exclusive "right of granting aid and supplies to the Crown is in the Commons alone as an essential part of their constitution, and the limitation of all such grants as to matter, manner, measure and time is only in them". Next year, Gladstone put all the financial proposals (including repeal of paper duty) together into one single Bill, not in a number of separate Bills as heretofore. The Lords, though affirming their right to divide, amend or reject, passed the Budget. The fact was that the abolition of the tenth penny of the income tax (*i.e.*, 10*d.* to 9*d.*) made the Budget of 1861 too

agreeable for the Lords to reject. These Budgets and this scuffle with the Lords marked Gladstone out as the future Radical leader. Morley is of opinion that the attitude of the Lords in 1860 had a considerable share in propelling Gladstone along the paths of liberalism. The Budget of 1861 made no important changes. The French commercial treaty had nearly doubled British exports to France. The free-trade policy was bearing its natural fruit in the abounding prosperity of the country. The Chancellor availed himself of it in the Budget of 1863 by reducing the income tax by two pence and the tea duty from 1s. 5d. to 1s. He was able to point out triumphantly the success of the policy he had followed ; but he marred his popularity by *trying* to bring charities within the meshes of the income tax. The Budgets of 1862 and '65 witnessed further reductions of the income tax. In 1864 it was reduced to 6d and in 1865 to 3d. Simultaneously the tea duty to 6d. The marked increase of national wealth enabled him to effect all these reductions, year after year. The last Budget has been described as the crown and summit of this period of English financial history. Customs were removed except those on a few and income tax was reduced to a very low level.

Death of the Prince Consort. Prince Albert died on Dec. 14, 1861. To the Queen it was a shock severer than the public knew at first and to the nation it was a loss graver it was aware of. Though he occupied no recognised official position in the Government, under the influence of his trained intelligence and shrewd guidance, royal power showed distinct signs of revival ; and royal influence showed distinct signs of decline after his death. In matters of foreign policy, his moderating influence was of special value. So long as he lived, his merits were not appreciated. Day and night he

worked for the welfare of the country ; still probably he never ceased to be the object of suspicion. His career, it has been very well said, was a tragedy of frustrated effort. Politically he was a Peelite.

Lancashire Cotton Famine. Owing to the American Civil War 1861-65 (*vide infra*) the supply of cotton which was almost wholly drawn from the blockaded Southern States, to the Lancashire mills was suddenly greatly reduced.* Operatives were thrown out of employment and were in great distress. Early in 1862 a Central Relief Committee was established in Manchester and Lord Derby took the lead in organising measures for relieving the starving multitude. Subscriptions poured in from all parts of England, from India and from the Colonies. By 1863 the worst was over : for some cotton was smuggled out of the Southern States and more was obtained from Egypt and India. But normal conditions did not return till 1866.

Others measures. In 1861 the Post Office Savings Bank was established. This was due to Gladstone who justifiably considered it as one of his notable achievements. "It is more difficult" he wrote to Cobden, "to save a shilling than to spend a million". In the same year the *Bankruptcy Bill* was passed was passed doing away with the illogical distinction† between bankruptcy and insolvency. By compulsorily declaring prisoners for debt bankrupt it cleared out the debtors' prisons ; on the other hand it increased the number of bankrupts and did

* In 1860 cotton imports valued fifteen hundred million pounds ; in 1862 they dropped to five hundred million pounds.

† "An insolvent as distinguished from a bankrupt was an insolvent who was not a trader ; for originally only a trader could be bankrupt in the sense of obtaining an *absolute* discharge from his debts"—Wharton's *Law Taxation*, p. 419.

nothing to diminish the cost of bankruptcy proceedings. In 1863 the *Prison Chaplain Act* provided for the appointment of Roman Catholic chaplains in prisons.

General Election of 1865. The Parliament had sat for little over 6 years and it was dissolved in July 1865. The election resulted in increasing the majority of Ministerialists from 40 to 60. This favourable result was due to the popularity of Palmerston and not of the Whig party : and so his death on Oct. 18, 1865 ensured speedy destruction of the Government. Gladstone was defeated from the University of Oxford because of his speech against the Established Church in Ireland ; he however quickly secured a seat for South Lancashire. But his defeat from Oxford snapped the last tie between him and his former Toryism. In this election of 1865 J. S. Mill was returned as M. P.

Lord Palmerston ; his career and statesmanship. Henry John Temple was the third Viscount of Palmerston in the peerage of Ireland. Born in 1784, he began political career at the age of 25 when he was made Secretary at War. He became Foreign Secretary in 1830 in the Grey Cabinet and from that time till his death he was a member of every Cabinet except those of Peel and Derby. He was in the House of Commons for nearly 60 years and in office for nearly 50.

Palmerston was a popular character. The secret of his popularity lay in the nature of the man himself. He was one of those happy few who are born young and retain the school boy spirit to the last breath of life. Though masterful in council and dictatorial in tone, he was unfailing in good humour, optimistic in views and expert in administration. He embodied all that was best and worst in the then all-powerful middle class. He was the archetype of the £100 householder—a sort of aristocratic John Bull. Pride in his country, pride in its

history and institutions, his determination to assert the dignity of Great Britain whenever necessary and at all times to stand 'no nonsense', all contributed to make him a popular idol. His jaunty walk, his breezy conversation, his merry ha! ha! laugh, were additional claims on the affections of the people of whose psychology no man had a more penetrating knowledge. "Yet beneath a non-chalant and scarlet-pimpernel-like pose was a mind keen and incisive". That keenness exhibited itself specially in the analysis of foreign politics. (See chapter on Foreign Policy).

He loved political duel, and if defeated, he never bore a grudge and if victorious, as he often was, he was generous to the vanquished. Adversities of fortune or perversities of men seldom ruffled his equanimity or destroyed his magnanimity and optimism. Dismissed in 1851, he accepted an inferior post in 1852; and in 1859 he was willing to serve under his young colleague, Lord Granville. But he never exactly fitted into the Cabinet system of government: as a subordinate he was impatient of control and as Premier he did not give full support to his colleagues. He did not belong to any party though by connexions he was a Whig. In fact it would be proper to call him his own party. He was a living compromise: Tories supported him for fear of Radicals and the Radicals supported him to keep out the Tories. He was perfectly satisfied with things as they were at home and was the declared enemy of all reforms. So his death was the 'letting out of the waters of reforms' at home. Secondly, his death ended, more decidedly than the Reform Act of 1832, 'the era of Whig ascendancy—the period during which England was governed by a group of great families who brought to power by the Revolution of 1688, were only nominally dethroned by that of 1832'.

Richard Cobden, 1804-1865. In the same year (April 2, 1865) passed away Richard Cobden. He was the son of a Sussex yeoman and became partner in a Manchester printed cotton factory. He travelled extensively but his interest was not in scenery or in art but in men and above all, in the working class. He brought his observations and knowledge to bear on the English fiscal system of Protection. His speeches are replete with convincing arguments and pointed illustrations couched in a clear and conversational style. Entering Parliament in 1841 he soon together with his friend John Bright, became a genuine power in the House of Commons and left his name in history by carrying the citadel of Protection.

The gifts of Cobden and Bright were complementary. Cobden had none of his companion's oratorical powers, pathos, humour and passions. Bright carried by oratory the audience whom Cobden had convinced by arguments. Thus the two formed an irresistible force in the House of Commons as well as on the platform. Bright was the son of a Quaker cotton-spinner of Rochdale. He assisted his father in his business till the age of 30 when, losing his wife, he was sunk in grief. "Mr. Cobden" he writes, "called upon me and addressed me with words of condolence. After a time he looked up and said 'There are thousands of houses in England at this moment where wives, mothers and children are dying of hunger. Now when the first paroxysm of grief is past, I would advise you to come with me and we will never rest till the Corn Law is repealed'. The invitation was accepted. They entered Parliament to discharge what they considered their duty.

Cobden never held any place in any administration. Elected for Rochdale in 1859, the promoter of the repeal of the Corn Laws was offered the office of the President of the Board of Trade. But he declined the post and recommended Milner

Gibson for it. Cobden would not have been what he was, had he accepted the post under one of whose foreign policy he had been a constant assailant. Palmerston pressed him hard and pointed out that they had attacked each other and that Milner Gibson (a Tory and Cobdenite) had also delivered strong speeches against him. Cobden replied, "But I meant what I said".

In foreign politics Cobden always stood for peace and fair dealing. He denounced war and above all, the Crimean War, China War and England's attitude to America during the Civil War. Consistently with his principle, he restored good feelings between England and France by concluding the treaty that has been named after him (1860). For this memorable service to the country he received the warmest praises from Gladstone. Palmerston offered him either a baronetcy or the rank of Privy Councillor. But the honour was courteously declined.

Section 10.

Second Russell Ministry. After the death of Palmerston the Ministry continued with the necessary alterations. Russell stepped into his place as Premier; but he being in the House of Lords as Earl Russell, the leadership of the Commons was entrusted to Gladstone the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Foreign Office was committed to the safe hands of Lord Clarendon, the War Office to Lord Hartington, and the Colonial Office to Cardwell.

Jamaica and its Governor. In Oct. 1865 the Negroes of Jamaica broke out in insurrection, attacked with stones and cutlasses, the court-house at Morant Bay, set it on fire, killed some white persons and began ravaging the neighbouring estates. The Governor, John Edward Eyre, with the approval of his Council proclaimed martial law in the insurgent locality.

and sent troops who brought the situation well under control. But after this began his cruelties. Four hundred and thirty-nine persons including a coloured Baptist named George Gordon a leading fomenter of the insurrection, were put to death under martial law ; over 600 including a number of women were flogged and 1000 houses belonging to the Negroes were burnt. The news of these punishments raised a loud outcry in England. Cardwell sent a Commission which submitted its report in April 1866 ; and as the result of the report, Eyre was recalled, but the Government refused to prosecute him. A Jamaica Committee was formed under the chairmanship of J. S. Mill to promote the Governor's prosecution ; and on the other hand an Eyre Defence Committee was supported by men like Carlyle and Tennyson. All attempts to prosecute Eyre and his officials failed ; but he was much harassed till 1872 when the Government paid him all the expenses of the protracted legal proceedings and he was pensioned off in 1874.

Commercial Crisis of 1866. The ever-increasing number of joint-stock companies, since the passing of Joint-Stock Companies Act of 1856, led to a dangerous activity of commerce and increase of speculation. The failure of the London Chatham and Dover Railway Company heralded the approach of a crisis. On May 10, the bill-discounting house of Overend Gurney and Co. stopped payment with liabilities of £ 19 millions. Panic spread through London, and Friday, the day following, was known as the Black Friday. The Bank Charter Act was suspended to give relief to the Banks. Public confidence was soon after restored.

The Reform Bill of 1866. The death of Palmerston at once brought to the foreground the question of further extension of the franchise. The steady improvement in material conditions, cheap newspapers, the favourable impression

produced by American democracy during the recent Civil War, gave a stimulus to democracy. The artisans were more numerous and better organised than before. In England and Wales, less than one-fifth of the adult males enjoyed the franchise. To keep pace with the country's progress, Gladstone introduced the Liberal Government's Reform Bill in the House of Commons (March, 1866). It was a very moderate measure and dealt only with franchise and not redistribution of seats. The borough franchise was to be reduced from £10 to £7 based on rental value, and the lodger franchise was to be fixed at £10; the county occupation franchise was to be reduced to £14; all depositors in Savings Bank of £50 for two years were also to have votes. A storm of opposition came from the Conservatives and a section of Liberals led by Robert Lowe who became the master-spirit of the opposition. The dissentient Liberals were compared by Bright to the discontented refugees round David in the Cave of Adullam. In spite of a Redistribution Bill brought in by the Government, the Cave increased in number. Disraeli, the Conservative leader, allowed the opposition to the Bill to be led by the Adullamites who however were aided by the Conservatives. The Government were beaten on an amendment moved by Lord Dunkellin who proposed to substitute rateable value for gross rental as a basis for the borough franchise. The Ministry resigned. In view of the foreign complications (the Seven Weeks' War), the Queen considered a change of ministry undesirable and urged on her ministers to reconsider their decision to resign. But they persisted in this. The Queen considered it as an act of desertion.

Earl Russell. He retired from active politics in 1866, though he lived 12 years more. He was elected to the House of Commons in 1813 and transported to the House of Lords in 1865; and barring short intervals, he had been a member of

the Legislature for 65 years. He was twice Premier ; and throughout his whole career he was known as the leader of the Whigs on the Reform question. On the whole his was a great career. As a statesman he showed admirable energy in legislation and effective power of debate. But he never remained a mere politician like Palmerston : he was a deep student of constitutional history, and had tastes for arts and aesthetics. His public career suggests a series of contradictions. Though a pronounced Reformer, he produced only petty and almost still-born Reform Bills. Though an abolitionist, he was known to the Americans as one who upheld the cause of the slave-owning South. Though a liberal champion of oppressed nationalities, he disappointed Denmark on the Schleswig question and abandoned Poland in her distress. The reason is that owing to the exigencies of political life he had to associate with men whom he had no time to mould wholly to his purpose or with whom he must act in seeming sympathy for carrying on the Government. His ambition, his self-consciousness and his proneness to unexpected movements in politics account for many of the contradictions.

SECTION 11.

Derby's Third Ministry (July 1866—1868). On Russell's resignation the Queen commissioned Derby to form a ministry. The Adullamites having refused to serve under Derby, a purely Conservative ministry was formed ; but in personnel it was far stronger than that of 1858. Disraeli as before, became Chancellor of the Exchequer and led the House of Commons ; Lord Stanley went to the Foreign Office. Lord Carnarvon became Secretary for Colonies ; Spencer Walpole, Home Secretary ; and Lord Cranborne (Marquis of Salisbury of later years), Secretary for India.

Reform Agitation and the Act of 1867. For some time past there had been perfect political repose ; reformers had been inert and the people apathetic. Russell's attempt awakened the spirit of democracy in the country ; rejection of his Bill led to widespread agitation ; and political uneasiness was aggravated by commercial distress and an indifferent harvest. Advocates of reform fanned the spirit into flame ; and leagues and associations sprang into existence. The Reform League announced its intention of holding a monster meeting at Hyde Park on July 23, 1856. The Home Secretary prohibited the meeting there. The leaders (e.g., Edmond Beales) held the meeting in the Trafalgar Square ; but a part of the assembled crowd pulled down the Hyde Park railings and swarmed into it and consequently had a scuffle with the Police. Street processions and monster meetings were organised in great cities. Bright conducted a campaign in the North and Midlands. Gladstone gave free expression of his views in support of the popular agitation for reform and once put the pertinent question ? "Are not they, the non-voters, of our flesh and blood ?" Reform could no longer be stayed : the middle and the working classes, the one under-represented and the other scarcely represented, had combined to demand the franchise. At the opening of the Parliament in Feby. 1867 the Queen in her speech drew the attention of the Houses to the state of representation in the country and expressed the hope that deliberations on the question might be conducted in a spirit of mutual moderation and forbearance. Disraeli invited the House to solve the problem in a spirit above that of party and proposed a series of abstract resolutions which were to form the basis of the coming Bill. This was followed by a Bill which however met with a cold reception. But Disraeli was ready with a larger scheme of representation

which however caused divisions in the Cabinet leading to the resignation of three ministers : Carnarvon, Cranborne and General Peel (Secretary for War). Their places were filled up by the Duke of Buckingham, Sir Stafford Northcote and Sir John Pakington. No longer troubled by a divided Cabinet, Disraeli introduced his alternative Bill (March 1867). It proposed to give franchise in the boroughs to all rate-paying householders ; in the counties to every occupier rated at £15. Besides it created fancy franchises for men with University degrees, with a certain funded property, and a certain deposit in the Savings Banks. It was a scheme of 'checks and counterpoises' : the fancy franchises, Disraeli hoped, would leave the working classes in a voting minority and thus consolidate the electoral power of the middle class. But he had to surrender these one by one. The fact is power was in the hands of the Whigs led by Gladstone, whereas responsibility rested lightly on the shoulders of Disraeli. The Bill was severely attacked. To Gladstone, it was a gigantic instrument of fraud ; to Bright, there was 'nothing clear, nothing generous, nothing statesmanlike,' so far as the working class went. The Bill was referred to a Committee by which the original provisions were completely altered so much so that Lord Cranborne described the final Bill as the result of the adoption of the principles of Bright at the dictation of Gladstone. In spite of this it should be noted that during the progress of the Bill Gladstone once suffered a conspicuous defeat. He proposed the inclusion of compound householders *i.e.*, tenants whose rates were paid by the landlords, but his amendment was defeated. This was a serious blow to his prestige and he thought of retiring but was dissuaded by Bright. The final Reform Act contained important provisions. In boroughs all rate-paying householders residing in the houses for one year only, were given votes. Compound

householders obtained votes in 1869. Lodgers (in unfurnished houses) paying £10 rent a year were enfranchised. In counties the occupation franchise was lowered to £12.

The fancy franchises, the securities inserted in the original Bill by Disraeli to comfort the doubting Tories, had all disappeared. The redistribution of seats was thus effected: eleven boroughs in the United Kingdom were disfranchised, 35 lost one member each and these seats were redistributed among boroughs and counties. London University got one, and Scotch Universities two seats. The total number of seats remained the same. Acts based on the above principles were passed for Scotland and Ireland in 1868.

Remarks on the Act. A Conservative government passed an essentially Radical measure. Derby might see the political necessity of supporting the Bill and of 'dishing the Whigs' but he could not resist the impression that it was 'a great leap in the dark.' Carlyle called it 'shooting the Niagra' and vented his spleen on "the superlative Hebrew conjuror (Disraeli) spell-binding all the great Lords, great interests of England to his hand and leading them by the nose like helpless, mesmerized somnambulant cattle to such an issue." The Reform Act of 1867 bears an opportunist stamp, a concession to the expediencies of the moment. Hearnshaw writes: "Parliamentary reform was seized upon as a potent weapon by either party to rout its opponent. The Act of 1867 was the half-accidental result of the balance of forces in the House. It was a great step in the direction of democracy taken not with forethought and deliberation, but, as it were, by a stumble and a fall. No one was clamouring for it; no one in particular wanted it; no one intended it; and when it emerged out of the inane on to the Statute-book no one was pleased with it."

Cranborne might call it a 'great betrayal' and 'sneer at

EFFECTS OF THE ACT.

the policy of legerdemain, but it was a personal triumph for Disraeli affording proof of his skill as a parliamentary tactician. Parliamentary reform was bound to come ; and thinking it was no monopoly of the Whigs, he announced his intention of introducing it and above all, of treating it as a non-party question. Unpledged as to the details of the reform, he adroitly managed to steer its passage through the House. Neither did the Act go against his life-long convictions. Ever since his youthful days he had hoped for a combination of the *old aristocracy* and an educated and *enfranchised people* against the mercantile aristocracy of the Liberal *middle class*. This was his Tory democracy ; and now he achieved the important part of it. It was too democratic for the Conservative party, and Disraeli had to "educate his party to accept the principles and prepare the mind of the country." It may be mentioned in passing, that in one respect he was fortunate : he had no young Disraeli to attack him as Peel had in his venture of 1846.

Lowe predicted that the Act would cause an increase of corruption in the constituencies, a decline in the quality of the House of Commons, and a growth of dictatorial ascendancy of the Cabinet. Briefly speaking, the Act made two changes : (a) it transferred a large share of control over legislation and even in some measure of its initiation, from the House of Commons to the electorate ; and (b) it opened, as it were, a direct communication between the Cabinet and the country, and hence increased the power of the Cabinet and the electorate and proportionately diminished that of the House of Commons. In 1846 Peel had repealed the Corn Laws without a reference to the electorate ; the Election of 1865 had not taken place on the reform question, still in the first session Russell brought in a Reform Bill. But such things became

impossible after 1867. The resignation of Disraeli in 1868 and the Midlothian campaigns of Gladstone are illustrations of the results of the Act of 1867.

Other Domestic Events. During the short Ministry labour was very restive. Strikes, picketing and trade outrages took place. The Law Courts declared trade unions non-legal and even peaceful picketing illegal. The Government appointed a Royal Commission to investigate into the law (Feb. 1867). The same year witnessed the passing of two useful Acts improving the condition of the workers—one placed further restrictions on the employment of women and children in dangerous trades and augmented the powers of the factory Inspectors; and the other known as *Elcho's Bill*, placed the workman and the employer on the same level in the eye of the law, in cases of breach of contract. In 1868 the Lords abandoned their right of voting by proxy and the Commons their right of trying election petitions which were transferred to a judge selected by a rota from the judges of the superior Courts of Law. These last two may be considered as the sequelæ of the Reform Act of 1867. For Canadian Federation Act of 1867 see Chapter IV, Section I.

Disraeli's First Ministry (Feb.—Dec. 1868). Derby on account of failing health resigned and Disraeli became the Premier with George Ward Hunt as the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Sir Hugh Cairns as Lord Chancellor. Disraeli had rebuilt the Conservative party out of the ruins left by the Corn Law split of 1846 and he now reaped the reward by stepping into the place of Lord Derby. For ten months he was spared in that office. Gladstone in spite of opposition of the Government, proposed and carried a Bill for the abolition of compulsory church rates and a resolution in favour of the disestablishment of the Established Church in Ireland.

Disraeli extended the Reform Act to Scotland and Ireland and as soon as the new register was ready, dissolved the Parliament and appealed to the country. But the Liberals gained a majority of 120 in the Election and Disraeli resigned in Dec. 1868 without meeting the Parliament. He thereby set a democratic precedent by acknowledging the truth that a ministry really derives its commission from the electorate. This was the first election whose result without Parliamentary confirmation decided the fate of a ministry.

New men in politics. Derby, born in 1799, died in Oct. 1869. A devoted Anglican and a deep classical scholar he was ; but he was not a first-class statesman. As Colonial Secretary* under Grey and Peel he did some good work. He was a brilliant debater and gained the nickname of the Rupert in Debate. But he was more at home in his library amidst the classical volumes than at the Council Board discussing serious politics. He has been blamed as a light-minded opportunist ; and his conduct in 1867 justifies it. The fact is, he did not take much interest in politics and allowed his views to be shaped by Disraeli. Thrice he tasted the bitterness of office without being in power. Palmerston and Derby died and Russell retired. Disraeli and Gladstone were the two men left in the arena of diplomacy to wrestle. With their advent to power, a new period began which was hastened by the Reform Act. The problems, shelved during the Palmerstonian truce, now demanded solution.

Section 12.

Gladstone's First Ministry 1868-74. Gladstone formed his Ministry with Lord Clarendon at the Foreign Office and Mr. Bruce at the Home Office. Lord Granville led the House of Lords, first as Colonial and then on the death of

Clarendon in 1870, as Foreign Secretary. Mr. Robert Lowe went to the Exchequer, Mr. Cardwell to the War Office, Mr. Childers to the Admiralty, Mr. Goschen to the Poor Law Board and Mr. Bright to the Board of Trade, Sir William Page Wood (Lord Hatherly) to the Woolsack, the Duke of Argyll to the India Office. Mr. Chichester Fortescue became Chief Secretary and Lord Spencer, Lord Lieutenant for Ireland. Cabinet was strong in individual capacity. It included men of diverse shades of opinion. Lowe was against reform whereas it was Bright's eloquence that had secured the reform of 1867. The experience of Cardwell and Childers was mainly colonial. The influence of the Act of 1867 was clearly visible on the personnel of the Cabinet. About half the Cabinet indeed still belonged to the oligarchy that had been ruling England ever since 1688, but the other half consisted of men of different tradition and environment, brought to power by the Reform Acts of 1832 and 1867.

National Education. Before dealing with the Education Act of 1870, a short history of elementary education may be given. In 1833 Parliament made a beginning by granting an annual sum of £20,000 in aid of elementary education. The administration of the money was entrusted to the two Societies which at that time looked after the education of the children of the poor. The National Society of the Church of England, and the British and Foreign Society of the non-Conformist depended entirely upon private subscriptions for the maintenance of their respective denominational schools. The school buildings were unhealthy, often a disused factory or a village black-smith's workshop; the schoolmasters were inefficient and irresponsible, and the quality of the instruction poor. In 1833 the State recognised its responsibility to the people, but the meagre dole of £20,000 did not do much

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to improve matters. In view of the deficiency in the general education of the people Lord Melbourne's Government in 1839, increased the grant to £30,000, placed its administration in the hands of a Committee of the Privy Council on Education and appointed inspectors for schools receiving State aid. But the real difficulty at the time lay not so much in funds as in the lack of trained and efficient teachers. Russell in that year did indeed propose the establishment of Government Normal Schools ; but owing to the opposition of the Church party, the proposal had to be dropped. But his proposal had the effect of stimulating voluntary effort in that direction and by 1851 twenty-five training institutions had been established. Ever since 1846 the Treasury grant had also been increased to £100,000. The state of things steadily improved ; better prospects attracted better men as teachers ; a system of pupil teachers was inaugurated in place of the old monitorial system ; school inspection was made more effective ; the expenditure also increased. In 1860 a Commission under the chairmanship of the Duke of Newcastle was appointed to enquire into the state of popular education in England. On the strength of its recommendation, Robert Lowe Vice-President of the Council, introduced his revised code of payment by results (1862) : one third of the grant to a school was to be given for attendance and the remainder was to depend on the result of the individual examination of pupils on the 3 R's ; and grant should only be given to schools taught by certificated teachers. But the results did not prove to be satisfactory. Statistics showed only too plainly that the country was still far from possessing an efficient system of public education. In 1869 there were some 4,300,000 children of school-going age ; of these and two millions did not go to any schools at all ; 1,300,000 went to schools belonging to the

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION ACT.

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Church of England and subject to Government inspection; the remaining million went to schools which received no grant and hence were un-inspected and inefficient. England was far behind other countries in respect of elementary education. The astounding successes of Prussia were attributed to the schoolmaster as much as to the drill-sergeant. The Reform Act of 1867 had extended the franchise to the artisan and it was felt that at least for the purpose of voting, if not for anything else, it was desirable that a man should be able to read. As Lowe said after the passing of the Reform Act: "We must educate our masters to learn their letters." The country too awoke to the need, though opinions as to the exact system differed. In Birmingham the Education League under the direction of Joseph Chamberlain, demanded secular, compulsory and free education. Fawcett was all for compulsory but not for free education. One of the reasons why the successive Governments had so long postponed the question of national education was that any proposal on the subject involved its author and supporters in the fiercest sectarian controversy. Gladstone's Government solved it in 1870. But the credit was due to Mr. William Edward Forster, Vice-President of the Council. His object was to cover the country with good schools. This was not so difficult as the question of settling 'religious squabbles.' The provisions of the Act were: where voluntary schools did not exist or where the accommodation was insufficient, School Boards elected by rate-payers, were to be established for the building and up-keep of schools,—thus the Board Schools were only to fill up the large gaps in the educational map of country; the Boards were given the option of making attendance compulsory for children between 5 and 13 years in Board Schools; if at all there was to be any religious instruction, it should be of an

unsectarian kind* ; in all schools, Board or voluntary, the timetable was to be so framed as to make the religious instruction the first or the last lesson of the day to enable unwilling parents to withdraw their children from such instruction ; the voluntary schools were not to receive any assistance from the rates, but at the instance of Gladstone their old Parliamentary grant was doubled : all schools were to be visited by the Government inspectors and were to use the prescribed Code ; the ordinary fee in a school was not to exceed 9d. a week ; and the Boards were authorised to establish, where necessary, free schools or to pay the fees of poor children.

The Government in getting the Bill through Parliament displayed bad strategy ; it courted in the House of Commons the support of the Conservatives and thereby alienated the non-Conformists ; and so far as the Act went, it did not *entirely* satisfy any single party or sect. But whatever might be the defects, the Act was the most splendid legislative achievement of a splendid Ministry. It laid the foundation of a system of national education, it recognised to a large extent the principle of unsectarian education. Within the next decade schools, Board or voluntary, multiplied fourfold and the attendance more than doubled.

Subsequent history of elementary education may here be told. In 1876 Lord Sandon, Vice-President of the Education Committee in Disraeli's Ministry, carried an Act of great importance. It was made compulsory for town Councils and Boards of Guardians to appoint attendance Committees who were to look to the attendance of children to schools. Poor parents could obtain fees for their children from the Poor Law Fund, instead of from the School Board Fund as provided by the Act of 1870.

* This conscience clause was called the Cowper-Temple clause from the name of the M. P. who got it inserted.

The Act put restrictions on juvenile employment : children of not below 14 years of age could be employed only on production of certificates of educational proficiency. This Act marked a distinct step forward in the direction of compulsory education. In 1880 attendance was made compulsory for all children between 5 and 12 years of age. In 1890 the practice of payment by results which had been gradually diminished, was given up and in 1891 elementary education was made free. Between 1870 and 1901 the average attendance increased four-fold and the cost per child doubled, and in the latter year the grant was about £11 million pounds sterling. In 1902 Balfour's Government abolished the School Boards and transferred their functions to the Local Councils of counties and boroughs. But this Education Act of 1902 is beyond the scope of this book.

Administrative Reforms. Other domestic reforms of the Ministry may be enumerated. (1) In 1870 Competitive Examination for Civil Service appointments was instituted, except in the Foreign and Education departments. This was done by an Order in Council. (2) Cardwell, a disciple of the Manchester School, withdrew most of the British soldiers from the colonies and reduced the military expenditure on them. In 1860 the British troops in the colonies numbered nearly 49000, by 1870 the War Secretary had reduced them to 18000 and the military expenditure to one-third. It was a maxim of the Manchester School that the colonies should be gradually prepared for independence and as such they should be trained to stand on their own legs. (3) In 1870-71 Cardwell reorganised the army. The Seven Weeks' (1866) and the Franco-Prussian Wars (1870-71) stimulated an agitation in favour of army reform. Prussian successes showed that soldiers could be made efficient within a short period of three

years and that a big reserve was necessary. In 1847 the term for enlistment in the army had been fixed at 12 years and after that the soldiers might continue for a further period of 9 years or even longer. In fact, after the expiry of 12 years, the soldiers thought it too tale for them to learn some trade and remained for 9 years more for pension ; or in other words, the soldiers were retained in the army after they had ceased to be fully qualified for active service and the nation was put to a great expense in pensioning them. Cardwell the Secretary for War, by his *Army Enlistment Act of 1870*, introduced the principle of short service and special Reserve. According to this Act, no recruit was to be enlisted for more than 12 years. He might engage to serve the whole time with the colours or a part of the time (6 or 3 years) with the colours and a part in the army reserve. Men might enlist in the line for 3 years which were the minimum limit. Soldiers with colours were to be taught a trade ; reservists were to mobilise whenever called upon to do so. Further Cardwell evoked local patriotism by associating each regiment with a territorial district. "The country was divided into districts, from each of which there was to be raised a regiment of the line, consisting of two linked battalions, one serving at home and the other abroad, while the Militia and the Volunteers were to be brought into close relations with the regular battalions". Moreover the purchase of commission in the army was abolished. Up to this time an infantry or cavalry officer was forced to buy not only his original commission but each step up to the rank of Lt. Colonel, except when vacancies occurred through death. The sale of army commission was supposed to be regulated by Royal Warrant. But sums far in excess of the regulation prices used to be demanded and obtained ; and moreover, it gave greater weight to money than to ability and poor men had no chance of showing their merit.

The opposition to the Army Regulation Bill was great. It came from the Commander-in-chief, and the vocal part of the army and from some members of Parliament. The Lords threw out the Bill. But the purchase of army commission was abolished by Royal Warrant (July 23, 1871). It substituted promotion by selection for promotion by purchase and gave compensation to those who had already purchased commission. This action by the exercise of the royal prerogative was much criticised and Disraeli denounced it as part of an avowed and shameful conspiracy against the undoubted privileges of the Lords. The army reforms did not stop with this. The auxiliary forces (militia, yeomanry and volunteers) were transferred from the control of the Lord Lieutenants to the Crown. Further Cardwell abolished the system of dual control of the army by which responsibility was divided between the Commander-in-chief and the Secretary for War. This was also done by an Order in Council (June 28, 1870). Henceforward the Secretary for War was to have three departments under him—those of the Commander-in-chief, the Surveyor-General of Ordnance and the Financial Secretary for the Army. It thus virtually transferred the army from the Crown to the nation represented by the Parliamentary Minister. (4) *The Foreign Enlistment Act* of 1870 made it criminal to build a ship in circumstances which gave reasonable cause for belief that it would be used against a friendly state engaged in war. This was to prevent another Alabama (*q.v.*) from being built. (5) By the *University Test Act* of 1871 the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge were thrown open to the Roman Catholics and Protestant Dissenters by the abolition of all religious tests. Gladstone thus abandoned one of the most obstinate relics of his Toryism. (6) In 1871 Trade Unions were legalised; they could be registered as legal; the Unions were enabled to

proceed against their officials for malversations. But the Act not only defined rights but limitations and as such it fell far short of the expectations of the workmen e.g., the Act made even peaceful picketing criminal. (7) In 1872 the *Ballot Act* was passed permitting secret voting in the election of M. P.s. Demanded in 1837 by the Chartists it had not only been refused but denounced as degrading and un-English. In the thirties more than in the seventies, open voting meant voting by the workman or tenant according to the dictates of the employer or the landlord. Without secret voting, democratic forms are mockery. But it may be mentioned that to many Liberals the principle of secret voting was distasteful. (8) In 1872 was passed the *Licensing Act* which gave to magistrates a control over public-houses which were to be closed at 12 o'clock in London and 11 in the country. It was a moderate measure ; it did not satisfy the advocates of temperance, though it excited the anger of the brewers and licensed victuallers. (9) Lord Selborne's *Judicature Act of 1873* was one of the most useful measures of the Ministry. Before 1873 there were no less than eight Superior Courts, each with a separate staff of judges ; and the jurisdictions were sometimes conflicting. The Act of 1873 put an end to this chaotic state. The Act was amended in 1876, 1880 and 1894. For the sake of clearness, they may be taken together and their results stated. The Supreme Court of Judicature was to have two sides : (a) The Court of Appeal, and (b) The High Court of Justice. The High Court was to have three divisions :—(i) the King's Bench Division presided over by the Lord Chief Justice and having 15 other judges ; (ii) the Chancery Division under the Lord Chancellor and other judges dealing with equity cases ; and (iii) the Probate, Divorce and Admiralty Division. The Act of 1873 provided that from these

divisions there could be the final appeal to the other side—the Court of Appeal. But *Lord Cairns' Act* of 1876 provided that there could be a further appeal from the Court of Appeal to the House of Lords. For this purpose a Judicial Committee was to be formed containing salaried Law Lords.

Lowe's Budgets. Lowe as Chancellor of the Exchequer showed much skill and some pedantry in framing his Budgets. In 1869 he reduced the income tax by a penny and the tax on locomotion and the one shilling registration duty on imported corn was abolished. In 1873 the diminution in the military expenditure enabled him to reduce the income tax to 4*d.* by taking off the fifth penny, to cheapen sugar by halving its duty and to spread knowledge by abolishing the newspaper stamp. But after that year, fortune ceased to favour him. Owing to the reorganisation of the army Cardwell demanded an extra three millions which Lowe proposed to raise by increasing the income tax, the Probate and Succession duties and the tax on matches. The wealthy people and the match manufacturers set on foot a strong agitation against the two proposals. Both were dropped and an increase of the income tax by 2*d.* met the extra army demands. That the agitation was out of all proportion to the intrinsic importance of the proposal is not open to doubt. Equally clear was the loss of prestige of the Government. In 1872 the two pence were taken off the income tax and it further was reduced by 1*d.* in 1873 thus bringing it down to 3*d.* He also lowered the tax on sugar. These reductions were made possible by the increase of revenue from other sources which at the same enabled Lowe to pay off the Geneva award for the Alabama claims. But the same year involved the Chancellor in an administrative scandal which "impaired the credit of the Ministry at a time when he had no strength to spare". It was discovered that a sum of £ 800,000 had been

applied without the authority of Parliament to the extension of telegraphs, whereas it should have gone to the Consolidated Fund. Lowe was not personally involved in it ; but he knew of it and took no action. This brought Lowe's career at the Exchequer to an inglorious close. He was transferred to the Home Office and Gladstone himself took charge of the Exchequer (Aug. 1873).

Remarks on First Gladstone Ministry ; its decline and fall. Gladstone's first Ministry was a period of great legislative activity. The Liberal desires kept in abeyance during the period of Palmerstonian stagnation now made themselves felt in every department. And the Government by its activity gave a definite direction to the Liberal party and effected a reconciliation between the middle-class oligarchy placed in power by the Reform Act of 1832 and the wider electorate enfranchised by the Act of 1867. But the Ministry not only attempted to do too much but to do it too quickly ; it, to use the words of Disraeli, harrassed every trade, wearied every profession and assailed or menaced every class, institution and species of property in the country. Churchmen and Non-conformists, army officers and brewers, landlords and lawyers had all been disturbed. The more timid Liberals were finding the pace too fast for them. So its feverish activity created divisions in the Cabinet. Its foreign policy impaired also its popularity. It is difficult to see what other course it could have followed with regard to the Franco-Prussian War, Gortchakoff's Note or the *Alabama* claims which it had inherited from its predecessor. But their cumulative effects lowered English prestige abroad. At home the revival of Orders in Council or the Royal Warrant, the administrative scandal under Lowe's Chancellorship and the equivocal use of patronage had supplied the Opposition with weapons which

were deftly utilised against the Ministry. The Royal Warrant abolishing purchase in the army had an ill look about it. "Gladstone had two courses open to him : he might abolish purchase by a Royal Warrant i.e. by using the discretion which Parliament had given to the Crown ; or he might bring in a Bill to Parliament. What gave the thing an ill look was that, having chosen the second way and not being able to carry his point, he then fell back on the first way." The patronage referred to above, was the appointment of Sir Robert Collier to a paid membership of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. The law required that the paid member should have served on the Bench. Sir Robert was made a judge for a few days and then raised to the Judicial Committee. The Government escaped censure in the House of Lords by only two votes. Secondly, the appointment of a Cambridge graduate to the Rectory of Ewelme which has been reserved for a member of the Convocation of Oxford was another instance of the violation of the spirit of law.

By 1871 its popularity was on the wane ; Cabinet divisions and ministerial decay were manifesting themselves. Disraeli very pointedly compared the ministers, at the end of their strenuous labours, to a "range of extinct volcanoes without a flame upon a single pallid crest." In 1873 the Government suffered a fatal blow over the Irish University Bill (*vide infra*). Gladstone resigned ; but Disraeli refused to take office, for the time was not yet ripe for him. The Premier in the meantime turned to finance as the field in which the administration might renew its strength and repair its unpopularity. He resolved on the abolition of the income tax and sugar duties, increase of death duties and those on spirits. But these required reductions in the army and navy estimates which however Cardwell and Goschen opposed. Gladstone determined to appeal to

the country on a policy of reduced expenditure, and the abolition of income tax. Hopes were also held out for some relief of local taxation and of the grant of franchise to agricultural labourers. It has been maintained by Morley that all these hopes were not meant as an electioneering manoeuvre for the purpose of gaining votes but were the result of sincere convictions with which his mind had been preoccupied for some time past. The Parliament was dissolved on January 26, 1874 and by middle of Feb. the elections were over. Everywhere the Conservatives gained. Even in Scotland and Wales, usually Liberal, the ministerial cause suffered. The country, to use the words of Disraeli, made up its mind to close the career of plundering and blundering. Disraeli came to power with a comfortable majority over the Liberals and the Home Rulers combined. His success was due as much to the mistakes of his opponents as to his own able and patient leadership.

Section 10

Disraeli's Second Administration, 1874-80. Disraeli formed his second Ministry. Lord Cairns went to the Wool-sack, Lord Derby to the Foreign Office, Sir Stafford Northcote to the Exchequer, Lord Carnarvon to the Colonial, Lord Salisbury to the India Office and Mr. Ward Hunt to the Admiralty. A new and untried man Richard Assheton Cross became Home Secretary, Gathorne Hardy War Secretary, and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach the Chief Secretary to the Viceroy of Ireland, Lord Abercorn.

The New Toryism. For the first time since the schism of 1846 the Conservative party came to power in 1874 with a strong body of opinion behind it in the constituencies. Disraeli found after all that he had not enfranchised (1867) the artisans

in vain, for they now returned his party to power. By intelligent social legislation and by tickling their imperial pride, he resolved to conciliate and win over the working classes and to build up a claim to support of the progressive electors. In the matter of legislation he was not hampered, as the Liberals were, by any lingering traditions of individualism or *laissez faire*. Disraeli by patient and laborious efforts had, since 1846, been reorganising the Conservative party. In 1872 he clearly laid down the programme of his reconstituted party. The new Toryism, he declared, had the object of maintaining the Constitution of the country. This maintenance of the Constitution involved three things: (a) elevating the social condition of the people, (b) preserving the Empire, and (c) upholding the ancient Monarchy of England.

Social Reforms. Disraeli did not come to office pledged to a long programme. His promise rather was to give rest to the harassed interests. But he did not forget his promise of social reforms which aimed at ameliorating the rural and industrial interests and at improving the conditions of home life. In 1874 Bruce's *Licensing Act* was amended: it abolished inquisitorial invasions on the part of the police into the publican's private rooms, fixed the hours at 12.30 for London, 11 P. M. for populous towns and 10 P. M. for the country. Lord Cairns's *Leases and Sales of Settled Estates Act* (1875) facilitated the registration of titles and transfer of landed property, but its permissive character coupled with the persistent opposition of family solicitors, rendered it ineffectual. Lord Cairns' other Act (*Settled Land Act*) rendered it legal for a limited owner to sell his settled estates, but this Act did not come into operation till 1882. The Duke of Richmond's *Agricultural Holdings Act* (1875) allowed compensation to tenants for improvements effected by them in the

soil. The *Enclosure of Commons Act* (1876) was intended less to facilitate enclosure than to preserve commons as open spaces for improving the sanitary conditions of the locality. Another Act affecting the agricultural interest was the *Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act* (1878) which provided that cattle if proved to be imported from infected areas abroad, must be slaughtered immediately on their landing in England; it was meant as a precaution against the spread of infection at home.

The conditions of industry were regulated and the interests of the artisans were safeguarded by a series of remarkable measures. In 1878 was passed the *Factory and Workshops Act* prohibiting the employment of any child under 10 years of age, limited the work of other children to half-time, fixing the maximum hours at 56½ hours a week for women in textile and 60 in non-textile factories. The *Employers and Workmen Act* (1875) and the *Trade Unions Act* (1876) reduced the number of breaches of contract which could be punished criminally and legalised picketing so long as it stopped short of violence or intimidation. Combinations in furtherance of trade disputes were legally privileged; no act committed by a group of workmen was henceforth to be punishable unless the same act by an individual was a criminal offence. On the whole the Trade Unions were placed in stronger position than they had ever occupied. These measures were nearly all due to the untiring energy of Mr. Cross, the Home Secretary. By Northcote's *Friendly Societies Act* (1875) the Government encouraged the growth and helped the improvement of these societies. Registration was facilitated and encouraged; models of contributions and benefits were issued by the Government to societies which desired them; facilities were given to submit their accounts to Government inspection. The *Merchant Shipping Act* (1876) authorised the Board

of Trade to detain unseaworthy ships but the responsibility of fixing a loadline was thrown upon the owners. This Act was forced upon the Government by the zeal and eloquence of Mr. Plimsoll, M. P. for Derby. Lastly, to improve conditions of home-life, the *Artisan's Dwelling Act* (1875) was passed for towns enabling corporations to acquire compulsorily insanitary areas at ordinary values, erect improved buildings or dispose them to those who undertook to do it. These several Acts showed how the Premier meant to adhere to his programme. He was not to allow any Benthamite principle of *laissez faire* to stand in the way of better sanitation or social legislation. His opponents derided his social programme as a policy of sewage. But he was not to be thus deterred. His programme was no hasty inspiration but the result of the reasoned-out convictions of a leader entrusted with the reorganisation of a party.

The Empire*—A few words may be said here about the second item in the Tory programme—preservation of the Empire. As early as 1852 Disraeli had said: "These wretched colonies which would in course of time become independent, now hang like millstones round our necks". In saying so he merely voiced forth the prevailing sentiment of the Manchester School of thought. The policy of England in the mid-century was to grant the colonies independence. The Conservatives favoured the same policy. But Disraeli in his mature years, changed his views and came forward as the champion of the imperial idea and of the closer union of the British Empire. "Self government in distant colonies" said he in 1872, "when it was conceded, ought to have been conceded as part of a great policy of imperial consolidation". This change

* This may be read along with Beaconsfield's Foreign Policy and the Colonial events of the period (*vide infra*).

came upon him about 1866. The Conservative foreign policy of neutrality in Continental affairs 1866-68, (*vide infra*) he justified on the ground that England had out-grown the European continent and by doing so, he struck the keynote of his imperialism. "You have a new world," said he, "new influences at work, new and unknown objects and dangers with which to cope. The Queen of England has become the Sovereign of the most powerful Oriental States. On the other side of the globe there are establishments belonging to her teeming with wealth and population. These are vast and novel elements in the distribution of power. What our duty is at this critical moment is to maintain the Empire of England". In 1875 the first indication of his new imperialism was furnished by the purchase of nine-twentieths of the Suez Canal Company, thus obtaining not only remunerative investment but also an effective control over the route to India. The shares purchased were those of the Khedive of Egypt who was badly in debt. Disraeli saw, as Napoleon had seen before, that Egypt was the half-way house to India and he was determined to see that France should not establish herself there. As a political step, it was bound to be viewed with jealousy by France and when it ultimately led to the British occupation of Egypt, it caused much friction between the two countries.

It was at Disraeli's suggestion that the significant step of sending the Prince of Wales on a visit to India (1875) was taken. And after his return, the Queen was proclaimed at a magnificent Durbar (Jany. 1, 1877) at Delhi the Empress of India. There was much opposition at home to the *Royal Titles Bill* (1876); and this was mainly due to the disrepute that the conduct of Napoleon III had brought on the title 'Emperor'. But the Premier quieted down the opposition by

promising that the Queen should never use the title in England. Rosebery humourously said that the title was "labelled for external application only". This action of Disraeli served two-fold purpose : it drew closer the tie with India, and it added to the splendour of the English throne to which we now turn.

Upholding the Monarchy. The Prince Consort died in Dec. 1861. After that the Queen took less and less part in public functions. For some time the nation sympathised but when the seclusion was carried for a long time, dissatisfaction took the place of sympathy. In a letter to Lord John Russell (1866) the Queen resented the unfeelingness of those "who long to witness the spectacle of a poor, broken-hearted widow, nervous and shrinking, draped in deep mourning, alone in State as a show". But the cause of monarchy suffered from the self-effacement of the monarch. Gladstone felt that if she long persisted in the seclusion the hold of the monarchy on the people might be weakened, especially as after the fall of the French Empire (1871) there was a clearly marked wave of republican feeling in England. Sir Charles Dilke made himself the exponent of this feeling in Parliament, and became the observed of all observers. In papers he was caricatured as 'Citizen Dilke'. American papers wrote of him as the future President of Britain. In March 1872 he brought forward a motion to enquire into the Civil List. But the House threw a terrible douche of cold water on his Republican ardour. It was clear that there was no Republican party. Meanwhile the Queen's illness (1871) followed by the serious illness of the Prince of Wales, revived the country's sympathy ; and when she attended with the Prince of Wales, on their recovery, a service of thanks-giving at St. Paul's Cathedral she received an enthusiastic ovation. The revival of her popularity was much due to the Earl of Beaconsfield (Disraeli).

Gladstone addressed her 'like a public meeting or like a firm of lawyers ; Disraeli treated her like a woman'. Sycophant Disraeli was not, but courtier he was. Deference to royalty was a political conviction with him. The reward he sought and obtained was not royal favour but the assignment to Monarchy of a properly prominent place in the constitution. Under his pleasing treatment the Queen emerged at last from her long period of unpopularity. Beaconsfield prepared the way for the sentimental adoration which was given expression to in the two Jubilees of 1887 and 1897. "Melbourne had been the hero of her youth, Beaconsfield the favourite of her old age". She felt the death of her favourite which occurred on Apr. 19, 1881, as a personal bereavement.

Northcote's Budgets. Northcote had succeeded at the Exchequer, to a surplus and to a time of prosperity. His first Budget of 1874 merely spent the surplus of nearly £6 millions. He reduced the income tax to 2d., the lowest figure in its history ; and abolished the sugar and horse duties. National debt was reduced by half a million ; some relief in local taxation was granted. The Budget of 1875 is noted for the inception of a new Sinking Fund setting apart, in addition to the payment of interest on the National Debt, a certain sum every year to be gradual extinction of the capital charge. In 1876 the Budget showed a deficit and the Chancellor met the anticipated deficit by increasing the income tax by 1d. But at the same time the incidence of the tax was readjusted by raising the taxable minimum from £100 to £150. Nothing happened in 1877. In 1878 the Chancellor acknowledged a deficit. This was partly due to the increased armament and Civil Service charges. Strained relations with Continental Powers and wars in South Africa (*q.v.*) necessitated the increase in army estimates. Income tax, tobacco tax and dog licenses

were raised ; and short loans were floated. The Opposition attacked not so much the Budget as the foreign policy on which the Budget depended. The attack was directed against the 'profligacy of imperialism and the laxity of the administration'. The Black Year of 1879 made matters worse and produced a larger deficit. In the midst of the yawning deficit the Ministry fell. So long as Sir Stafford remained at the Exchequer, he struggled hard against the adverse circumstances. External circumstances formed a large element in the lack of Northcote's financial success.

Ecclesiastic Legislation. The *Scottish Patronage Act* of 1874 aimed at destroying lay patronage in the Established Church of Scotland and at entrusting the choice of ministers to the several congregations. The *Public Worship Regulation Act* of 1874 was passed with the object of facilitating, expediting and cheapening proceedings in enforcing clergy discipline. The Act provided nothing but a summary method for the enforcement of the Act of Uniformity. All irregularities were to be tried by a lay judge appointed by the Archbishops with the approval of the Crown, with appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

Fall of Beaconsfield : Midlothian Campaigns. The Ministry did very good work for the country. The period (1874-80) is sometimes called the Golden Age of Tory Democracy. The Premier's reputation was at its pinnacle when he returned home after concluding the Treaty of Berlin 1878. Had he dissolved Parliament then, the Conservatives would have secured a new term of power. But after 1878 everything went awry. The development of the grain-growing provinces of the American West and a series of wet summers and bad harvests at home combined, in the Black Year of 1879, to bring British agriculture to the verge of ruin. There were disasters abroad : the defeat at Isandhlwana in S. Africa (q. v.)

was followed by the Cavagnari tragedy at Kabul. These led people to entertain doubts about imperialism. Ireland was seething with discontent and its representatives were spoking the Parliamentary machinery. The Chancellor of the Exchequer who had begun with riches, ended in want. All these weakened the position of the Ministry. But the success of the Liberals in the Election of 1880 was mainly due to Gladstone's Midlothian Campaign. Wishing to have an interval between the Parliament and the grave, Gladstone had retired in 1875 from the leadership of the Liberal party and Lord Hartington had been selected to succeed him in the House of Commons. In 1879 however, he shook off inaction and in the autumn of that year, accepted the invitation of the Liberals of Midlothian to contest the seat which was usually Conservative. On Nov. 24, he travelled from Liverpool to Edinburgh delivering speeches on the way in the railway stations. For a week he overwhelmed the constituency with a spate of oratory, condemning the whole Beaconsfieldian system, especially the foreign and colonial policy and its bearing on the national finances. Apart from the physical achievement on the part of an old man of over seventy the campaign stands a wonderful monument of his vigorous resourcefulness and fervid eloquence. The campaign was repeated next year (1880). The results were in keeping with the effort. The Liberals were returned by a majority of 120 over the Conservatives and of 50 over the Conservatives and Home Rulers combined. The Midlothian campaign rallied the straying allegiance of many of the Liberals; it put Gladstone to power with the same dictatorship as before. Lord Selborne lamented that the event set a precedent tending in its ultimate results to the degradation of British politics; it was considered by many as undignified and demagogic. The Queen, when later on commissioning Gladstone to form an administration, rebuked him for his flaming

declamations in Midlothian and for submitting high questions of politics to the people, and said, "You will have to bear the consequences". Apart from all these, the incident had a deep significance : "it was the recognition of a stupendous change coming over the face of the political waters : the shifting of the centre of political gravity from Parliament to the platform, from the House of Commons to the constituencies, from the classes to the masses".

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Gladstone's Second Ministry, 1880-85. On Beaconsfield's resignation in Ap. 1880, the Queen sent for Lord Hartington, the leader of the Liberal party in the Commons. But as Gladstone refused to accept a subordinate office, the Queen commissioned him to form a government. In fact the Midlothian campaign had made his resumption of the Premiership inevitable. On April 23, Gladstone kissed hands as First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer ; Lord Granville took the Foreign office, Lord Hartington the India Office, Selborne the Woolsack, Lord Kimberly the Colonial, and Childers the War Office, Lord Northbrook the Admiralty, Sir William Harcourt Home Office ; Joseph Chamberlain became President of the Board of Trade, Bright the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and Forster the Irish Chief Secretary. The Ministry was strong in individual ability but it contained incongruous elements. Forster was a Tory in the tadpole stage, Hartington was a very cautious Liberal, Bright and Chamberlain were Radicals. Even Gladstone's authority was not strong enough to hold the two groups together. Apart from its composite character, the Cabinet had inherited the unsolved problems of Beaconsfield's Ministry *e.g.*, unrest in Afganistan, discontent of the Boers of S. Africa and the dregs of the Balkan Wars. Moreover Gladstone in the Midlothian

campaign had given the impression that whatever Beaconsfield had done was to be undone and whatever he had neglected was to be done. On the platform such promises are easy to make but in office they are difficult to fulfil. Such then was the nature of the difficulties before the Premier. What with these and what with the organised battering of the Fourth Party, the second administration of Gladstone was, on the whole, a disappointment.

The Fourth Party. The Conservative Opposition in the House of Commons was officially led by Sir Stafford Northcote but without enough energy and authority to please and control four guerilla warriors forming the Fourth Party* Lord Randolph Churchill, Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, Mr. Gorst and Mr. A. J. Balfour. Churchill was the leader and his party was also spoken of as Tory Democrats. The movement of national thought on most subjects had been markedly in the direction of liberalism; and Churchill had imbibed the prevailing liberalism. In fact it was difficult on many points to distinguish his views from those of an advanced Liberal. Something will be said about his career later on. In the Parliament of 1880 the Fourth Party attacked Gladstone Ministry, urged the Conservative Opposition to greater activity and made its fortune out of the Bradlaugh case.

Charles Bradlaugh. Bradlaugh, an outspoken atheist, was returned from the constituency of Northampton at the General Election. He could not take the Parliamentary oath of allegiance which ended with the words 'so help me God'. He therefore claimed to make an affirmation under the Parliamentary Oaths Act of 1866 which gave the right to affirm to every person for the time being permitted to affirm. A Committee

* The Liberals, the Conservatives and the Irish Nationalists were the other three.

appointed to consider this question, decided against him by a most unfortunate majority of one. He then offered to take the oath with its 'meaningless addendum'. * A second Committee decided that he could not do so. The Law Courts decided against his right to affirm. He vacated his seat, got himself re-elected for Northampton (Ap. 1881) and presented himself for oath but was refused permission by the House. In Feby. 1882 he administered the oath to himself but was expelled from the House. The Government proceeded against him for illegally taking the oath and the Court decided against him. In 1883 Gladstone introduced a Bill providing for affirmation but was defeated by a majority of three (April). Throughout the lifetime of the Parliament of 1880 Bradlaugh remained excluded. Gladstone took a very sane view of the matter and stood up for religious liberty considering it valueless to insist on the verbal acceptance of a meaningless password. But the Fourth Party seized every opportunity for baiting the Premier and the Bradlaugh case was a godsend to them. Moreover there was a strong personal prejudice against Bradlaugh not entirely due to theological animus. However when the Parliament met in January 1886 after the General Election, in which he had again been returned for Northampton, the speaker (Peel) disposed of the question by declaring that he would not permit any objection to a lawfully chosen member taking the oath. Bradlaugh took the oath. In 1888 an Affirmation Act was passed. He remained a respected member of the House till his death in 1891. In that year all the resolutions against him were expunged from the Journal of the House. The Bradlaugh case is important for several reasons. It raised the question as to the relations between the House of Commons and a constituency ; it was unconstitutional for the House to prevent a legally elected representative from performing his

* i.e. 'So help God'.

duties in that capacity by refusing him seat. It had a political significance in as-much-as it gave a very bad start for the new Government and brought into prominence the Fourth Party, especially its leader Lord Randolph Churchill.

Domestic Legislation : Third Reform Act. The *Burial Act* (1880) permitted the Non-conformists to bury their dead in Churchyards with any form of religious service selected by themselves or without any service at all. The *Ground Game Act* (1880) allowed tenant farmers to kill ground game (e.g., rabbits and hares) equally with the landlords, any agreements notwithstanding. The *Employer's Liability Act* (1880) gave compensation to work-people for injuries sustained in the course of employment through negligent management. The *Married Woman's Property Act* (1882) placed married women on a footing of equality with men, widows and spinisters, as regards holding, acquiring and bequeathing property. Thus the property or income acquired as wife, was secured to her. It was a beneficent change, extensive in its results. The *Agricultural Holdings Act* (1883) gave compensation to outgoing tenants on lease, for unexhausted improvements. It was very popular with the farmers, especially as it limited the amount recoverable by a distress to one year's rent. In 1883 the *Corrupt Practices Act* was passed. Already in 1868 bribery cases had been transferred from a Committee of elected M. P.s to the judges of the High Court. The Act of 1883 compulsorily fixed a candidate's legitimate expense proportioned to the size of the constituency. Proved excess would vacate the seat. There were other stringent provisions against indirect bribery.

Since Westbury's Act of 1861 the bankruptcy laws had been revised by an Act in 1869. By this Act, imprisonment of the bankrupt was abolished except in the case of wilful or fraudulent non-payment of money. The creditors were given the option of coming to a compromise with the debtors or of

proceeding in bankruptcy. If they chose the latter course, they would nominate their unofficial trustee under the control of the Court. By the Act of 1883 control over the insolvent estates was transferred from the Court of Bankruptcy to the Board of Trade, acting through Official Receivers. Both efficiency and economy were promoted by this salutary change.

In 1884 the Government reopened the question of Parliamentary reform. The Reform Act of 1867 had enfranchised the working classes in urban constituencies, but the working men in the country and small towns still remained unenfranchised. Gladstone had promised (1874) to give the vote to the agricultural labourer; now he proceeded to redeem his promise. In 1884 he introduced a Bill to equalise the franchise in all constituencies. With regard to the counties, the £50 landowners' franchise was to be abolished for the sake of uniformity; the qualification of £12 rateable value of 1867 was reduced to £10 yearly value; the lodger and household franchises of boroughs were to be extended to the counties. A service franchise intended to include those who were prevented by their occupation from living in houses of their own, was to be established. The service voters were coachmen, game keepers, police constables and others. The Bill was to be extended to Scotland and Ireland. Thus the country was not only to be assimilated to the borough franchise but all the three countries were to be on the same footing. The Bill having passed through its stages in the House of Commons, was sent up to the Lords. The principles of the Bill were unassailable; it had, moreover, passed the Lower House by large majorities. So the opposition in the Lords was not a direct attack on the Bill itself, but on the question of redistribution of seats which they demanded must go hand-in-hand with the Bill otherwise it was to be thrown out. A crisis was imminent. The action of the Lords aroused a violent agitation in the country and bitter attacks were made

upon the Second Chamber ; and the Radicals raised the cry of mending or ending the House (a phrase invented by John Morley). The Queen intervened and impressed upon the Premier the necessity of a peaceful settlement. She by her wise and steady influence, succeeded in averting a serious crisis of affairs. Gladstone met Salisbury and Sir Stafford Northcote of the Opposition and discussed with them the details of the Redistribution Scheme. The Lords passed the Franchise Bill (Dec. 1884) and thus a great constitutional change was virtually effected by general consent. The Redistribution Bill was passed in 1885. All boroughs with a population of less than 15000 would be merged in the counties ; all towns with a population of less than 50,000 were to send only one member each. London and some towns containing between 50,000 and 165,000 were each to return more than one member. Some two million voters were added to the electoral register.

Two things are worth noting—mediation of the Crown and the disagreement of the Houses. For some time in the autumn of 1884 the Franchise Bill threatened to produce a formidable dislocation in the quiet working of the constitution. The action of the Peers, says Bright, had forced upon the public mind grave doubts as to the constitutional value of the Upper House. It had become a commonplace with the orators of the Radical party to stigmatise the House of Lords as a mere party instrument in the hands of the Tories. Its unrepresentative character, and the obvious legislative incapacity of many of its members, laid it particularly open to attacks of this description. The cry against the Lords has yet to be set at rest.

Fall of Gladstone, 1885. Scarcely had the Redistribution Bill been passed when the series of events occurred which unexpectedly led to the fall of the Ministry. Ever since 1880 the Government had encountered difficulty after

difficulty. The management of Egyptian and S. African affairs (*q. v.*) had invited scathing attacks on the foreign policy. Whatever credit the Government had acquired by the Reform Act was swept away by the news of the Gordon tragedy and fall of Khartoum. Much success had not attended its dealings with Ireland. The Cabinet had been torn to pieces over the Foreign and Irish policies. Lord Lansdowne and the Duke of Argyll had withdrawn on the attempt to settle the Irish land question, Forster on the release of Parnell from the Kilmainham jail, and Bright on the bombardment of Alexandria. The Premier made frantic efforts to avert a rupture in the Ministry and in the party. In May 1885 he declared his intention to renew coercion partially in Ireland. At this the Home Rulers joined the Conservatives. In June 1885 the Opposition defeated the Government on a clause of the Budget regarding duty on beer. The Prime Minister was glad of the excuse to resign and, when asked by the Queen, refused to reconsider the position. Salisbury formed his first Ministry.

Remarks on Gladstone's Second Administration.

His second Administration compares unfavourably with the first. During the first Ministry there was a bumper crop of beneficent legislation; during the second a few useful measures chiefly the Reform Act, were no doubt passed but much of its time was wasted in defence of attacks from outside and in healing dissensions within. During the former period he carried out bold and comprehensive reforms for Ireland and during the latter, Ireland was a scene of ever-deepening confusion aggravated by vacillation and divisions in the Cabinet. During the first term he had the whole-hearted support of his party which, on the whole, represented the dominant force in politics at the time; and a lack of this hampered him in the second term. The fact was, that during 1880 and 1885 problems had arisen in which his particular gifts

had no scope ; finance was his strong point, whereas he had to deal with military complications abroad and new influences at home. Following Prof. Dicey, Queen Victoria's reign may be divided into two periods. From the beginning of her reign up to the end of Gladstone's first Ministry may be said to have been a period of *individualist legislation*. Individualism involves emancipation from all kinds of hampering restrictions. Thus Free Trade, religious equality, extension of suffrage, pacific foreign policy and a general policy of *laissez faire* marked this period. On the whole then, Benthamite philosophy and the Manchester School held the ground. From Beaconsfield's Government (1874) to the end of the century may be said to have been a period of *collectivist legislation*. It extends the activities of the Government, and wants to regulate the relation between the employer and the employed and to adopt imperialist foreign policy. Gladstone was in the main a man of the individualist period. Opportunist in temperament, he tried to adapt himself to the needs of the second period but with indifferent success. Here is the secret of his failure. In fact, he was 'paying the penalty of longevity by surviving into an epoch in which he was an anachronism.'

Before passing on to the next Ministry of Salisbury we will review the career and statesmanship of Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield who died on April 19, 1881.

Beaconsfield ; his career and statesmanship. Benjamin Disraeli was born in 1804. Like Bright, he had no education either in a school or in any university. His father was a great collector of books and the son had the free run of the library. He began life as a political novelist ; *Tancred*, *Sybil*, *Lothair*, and *Coningsby* are his best books. After failing four times, he ultimately got into the House of Commons in 1837 for Maidstone. His maiden speech was unhappy and he was laughed down. "Though I sit down now" exclaimed he, "the time will

come when you will hear me". The time did come when all England hung on his utterances.

Not given so much as a minor post in the Conservative Administration of Peel in 1841, he had his vengeance on him in 1846 over the repeal of the Corn Laws. Using Lord George Bentinck as a stalking-horse, he rallied the dissatisfied Tories and organised them into a Protectionist party. He was long disliked as an upstart adventurer. On the death of Bentinck in 1848 he was accepted as a makeshift leader, and he it said, that he emerged as the dictator of the party. He led the Opposition except with short intervals, from 1849 to 1874. During this period he was in office thrice as Chancellor of the Exchequer and once as Prime Minister. His being in office was due rather to dissensions among the Liberals than to any recovered strength of his party. During the long period of opposition (1849-74) he discharged his duties as leader with as little insincerity as circumstances allowed and always refrained from taking advantage of the embarrassments of the Government. Regarding the *coup d'etat* of Dec. 1851 in France and the Civil War (1861-65) in America he held and insisted that other nations should be allowed to shape their fortunes in their own way. Cobden once declared that had Disraeli (sometimes referred to as "Dizzy") been in power, the Crimean War would have been avoided. When there was a clamour for retaliatory severities against the mutinous sepoys of India (1857-8) Disraeli said that "we boasted that we ruled India in the interest of humanity ; are we stain our name by copying the ferocities of our revolted subjects ?"

He came to power in 1874. What his programme was and how far he carried it out, have already been narrated. He summed up in general terms, his policy, internal and external, in the farewell Address that he issued to his former constituents in 1876 when he was created Earl of Beaconsfield. "Through

out my public life I have aimed at two chief results. Not insensible to the principle of progress, I have endeavoured *to reconcile change with that respect for tradition*, which is one of the main elements of our social strength ; and in external affairs, I have endeavoured to develop and strengthen our Empire, believing that combination of achievement and responsibility elevates the character and condition of a people".

A comparison of Gladstone and Disraeli will bring out the character and statesmanship of both who for well-nigh twenty years shaped the politics of the country. Gladstone began life as the rising hope of the stern and unbending Tories, but his irrepressible energy drove him ultimately into Radicalism. Disraeli began life with vague vision of extensive social reforms (as his novels show), fought his first elections under the auspices of O'Connell and Hume, made his first mark in politics by supporting a Chartist petition and became a Conservative because the things he most cared for were valued by the Conservatives. To reconcile Toryism and democracy on the basis of the maintenance of national institutions combined with social progress, Disraeli conceived to be his mission in life. Intellectually at all events, he was a man of principles. "Gladstone's career and policy on the other hand, bear an opportunist stamp which is rather astonishing in one so sincere : in foreign matters the Whig leader wanted to avoid intervention, and in home policy, to maintain or restore his majority, to carry through the measures of the moment, now leaning upon one section of the Cabinet, now upon another. This may have been due in part to the exigencies of Parliamentary Government. Gladstone looked on Government mainly from the treasury point of view ; Disraeli had a vivid sense of the romantic aspects of the imperial position of England. Hence it was that the Liberal policy was to avoid all avoidable foreign complications, because a vigorous foreign

policy involved sacrifices on the individual ; but the Conservatives under Disraeli took pleasure in external actions which manifested forth the splendour and greatness of England. In fine, Gladstone appealed to the *pocket* of the democracy, Disraeli to its *pride*. Like Peel, Gladstone took no far views. He admitted that he could not take much interest in a question that was not ripe for settlement. But when that time came, he entered into it with a passionate ardour which surprised those who remembered his previous indifference and even caused them unjustly to suspect his sincerity." On the other hand, Disraeli's imagination loved to wander over wide tracts of the past and the future, delighted in broad generalisations and was not satisfied till he found in them a rationale for the direction he gave to his party. Thus he ransacked past history and defended his policy by references to the views of Bolingbroke and Pitt whom, in their character of reformers, he claimed as leaders of the Tory party. He was called 'a prophet, not a statesman', and was also referred to as 'the mystery man' of British politics. 'Gladstone had long been in power and had made more impression in his generation ; Disraeli had a shorter lease of power but bequeathed a tradition and a policy. Gladstone found a strong party and ruined it for twenty years from 1886 ; Disraeli found a weak party and nursed it into strength'.

As men, they were dramatically-contrasted figures. Gladstone was a High Churchman and the leader of the non-Conformists, Disraeli was a Jew and the champion of moderate evangelical Churchmen. Gladstone was grimly earnest, priggish and sadly devoid of humour, while his opponent was frankly ambitious, extremely sarcastic and highly imaginative. Disraeli made great success as a political novelist. As an orator he was inferior to Gladstone and Bright, but as a master of invectives and epigrams he was their superior. He delighted in

fighting political duels, and the secret of his success lay in the magnetic influence of a dauntless will, in unrivalled powers of patience and in impenetrable reserve and detachment.

Section 15.

Salisbury's first Administration, June 1885—Jany. 1886. When Gladstone persisted in resignation, the Queen sent for Salisbury who, being in a minority, refused to form a government except on the distinct understanding of assistance from the Liberal majority to obtain the necessary supplies and to carry on the routine business of the State till the time of the General Election according to the Act of 1884-5. For this reason it was called a Government of Care-takers. Salisbury also took the Foreign Office; Sir Michael Hicks-Beach Chancellor of the Exchequer, led the House of Commons; Sir Stafford Northcote as Earl of Iddesleigh, went to the House of Lords and became the First Lord of the Treasury. Churchill went to India Office, W. H. Smith to the War Office, and Sir Richard Cross to the Home Office. Mr. Gibson as Lord Ashbourne became Lord Chancellor for Ireland and Lord Carnarvon Lord Lieutenant.

Domestic affairs. The Ministry mainly occupied itself with the Irish question (*q.v.*) After the business of the session, the Parliament was dissolved. The Election resulted thus: Liberals 305, Tories 249, and Parnellites 86. Thus the Home Rule party was the deciding factor in the situation. When Parliament met in January, Mr. Jesse Collings moved and carried an amendment regretting omission from the Queen's Address, of measures for the benefit of agricultural labourer. Salisbury resigned on being thus defeated. The real fact was that the Parnellites supported the Liberal Party on the strength of Gladstone's rumoured conversion to Home Rule.

Section 16.

Gladstone's Third Ministry, Feby.—July 1886 :—

Gladstone formed a Government for the third time. Sir William Harcourt was Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Childers Home Secretary, Lord Rosebery Foreign Secretary and Lord Herschell Lord Chancellor. But the most important member of the Cabinet was Mr. John Morley, Chief Secretary for Ireland.

Attempt at Legislation. Gladstone had become a Home Ruler (see Chapter on Ireland). Morley says that it is pure 'moon-shine' to attribute Gladstone's conversion to his influence. Whatever that might have been, the Premier introduced his first Home Rule Bill in Parliament. On being defeated he appealed to the country. The Election resulted disastrously for the Liberal party: Conservatives 316, Gladstonian Liberals 191, Liberal Unionists 78 and Parnellites 85. Gladstone resigned before meeting the new Parliament. The mass of British manhood enfranchised by the Acts of 1867 and 1884 spoke determinedly for preserving the integrity of the United Kingdom and maintained, for the next twenty years—excepting an unimportant interlude, 1892-94—in power the Party pledged to that policy of Union. The defeat of Gladstone gave the Queen undisguised satisfaction and with intense relief she sent for Salisbury.

Section 17.

Salisbury's Second Ministry 1886-92. The results of the Election showed that the Liberal Unionists held the balance of power in their hands. So Salisbury offered a coalition with them under Hartington. But the Liberal Unionist

leader looked forward to a reconciliation with the other section and a reconstruction of the whole Liberal party on sound principles. Moreover by keeping aloof he thought that his section would remain liberal and also prevent the Conservatives from adopting a retrograde policy. Further as the majority of the Unionists were Conservatives he deemed it right that they should form their own government. So Salisbury formed a purely Conservative Ministry. Lord Randolph Churchill became Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons ; Lord Iddesleigh, Foreign Secretary ; W. H. Smith, Secretary for War ; Henry Matthews, Home Secretary ; Lord George Hamilton, First Lord of the Admiralty.

Resignation of Churchill ; Round Table Conference.

No sooner had the Ministry begun work than it was threatened with disruption. Churchill was bent on retrenching the army and navy expenditure which Mr. Smith and Lord George Hamilton could not agree to. So in December 1886 Churchill resigned expecting that he would be asked to come back on his own terms. But Salisbury accepted the resignation and placed Goschen (a Liberal Unionist) at the Exchequer. Lord Randolph afterwards confessed that he 'forgot' Goschen. The appointment of this new recruit, however, proved a distinct gain to the Conservative rank. A few other changes were made in the Cabinet : W. H. Smith became First Lord of the Treasury and Leader of the House of Commons, and Stanhope, War Secretary ; Salisbury took charge of the Foreign Office (Iddesleigh having died meanwhile).

Lord Randolph's resignation led, as a side issue, to an attempt to heal the breach in the Liberal rank. His resignation was considered to have weakened the Government. Chamberlain, on the very day of Churchill's resignation, made a speech that was taken to hold out an olive branch to his former friends,

the Gladstonian* Liberals. And at Sir William Harcourt's suggestion, five members (Chamberlain, Herschell, Trevelyan Harcourt and Morley) of the old Liberal Cabinet of 1886 met in what is called the Round Table Conference. Gladstone did not join but gave the conference his blessing. Things at the Round Table for some time went smoothly enough and a reunion of the Liberals seemed to be in sight. At last, on the very day on which the provisional result of the conference was laid before Gladstone, an article by Chamberlain appeared in *The Baptist* to the effect that British and Scotch reforms were being impeded by Irish obstruction. Such an attack on Irish policy made negotiations for reunion impossible. The conference ended and the split was never mended.

The Jubilee. The Queen completed the fiftieth anniversary of her accession and the Jubilee was celebrated in June 1887. The Queen with a bodyguard of sons, sons-in-law and grand-sons and surrounded by the Colonial Governors and Indian Princes, drove (June 21) through the crowded streets to Westminster Abbey for thanks-giving service; a naval review was held at Spithead; in India many prisoners were released; Sir Henry Holland (Lord Knutsford) the Colonial Secretary, held a Colonial Conference in London; the Queen laid the foundation of the Imperial Institute. These were the various forms in which the Jubilee was celebrated.

Socialism and the Government. The agricultural depression begun in 1879, became worse as years wore on and emptied the villages. Slack trade and consequent unemployment deepened the poverty. The enfranchised and educated Demos refused to be made mere tools in the process of wealth-making for the benefit of the few. Materials were ripe for a social ferment. In the first place this led to a humanitarian and religious movement. Arnold Toynbee started the move-

ment (University Settlement movement) of making enquiries to expose the evils with a view to re-establish the sympathy between the more and the less fortunate members of society. In 1886 Charles Booth, a wealthy ship-owner caused statistics to be taken of the people of London and it was found that 32 p.c. were living below the poverty line. William Booth organised the Salvation Army (1878) and in 1890 in his book *In Darkest England* exposed the wretchedness of the dregs of society and demonstrated the need of rescuing them. In the second place, these disclosures of the misery intensified the bitterness of spirit in the *proletaire* and doubled the impetus to Socialism and labour unrest. The Social Democratic Federation founded in 1881, clamoured for a more equitable distribution of wealth and were prepared to use violent means to get their end. In 1883 was established the Fabian Society for the same purpose which, however, was to be accomplished by constitutional means. Soon after was formed the Independent Labour party (*vide infra*). Meanwhile the country was being convulsed by labour restlessness. In 1889 75000 dock labourers were on strike in London and succeeded in getting better wages ; the strike (1889-90) of the gas-workers led to the adoption in some firms, of a system of profit-sharing. In 1890 railway porters, brick-makers, boot and shoe-makers struck work. In 1892-93 the Lancashire cotton trade was paralysed by industrial disputes. In 1893 there was a coal-strike. In 1895 there was a dispute in the shipbuilding yards of Glasgow and Belfast. In this grim calender of strikes and disputes the remarkable thing was the success attending the pressure on the employers to concede better wages and easier hours of work. Herein lies the difference between the Chartist agitation at the opening period and the labour unrest at its close. This was due to combination. The

skilled artisans had their Trade Unions placed on a legal and stable footing by the Acts of 1871 and 1875-6. But the success (due to the organising capacity of John Burns) of the miserably unskilled dock labourers threw new light on the situation. It brought about a rapid expansion of Trade Unionism among the unskilled and underpaid trades. This synchronised with some discontent with the older Unions. The older Unions were becoming, so it was alleged, friendly societies, benefit clubs, rather than militant organisation ; secondly, they formed a labour aristocracy excluding thousands who could not pay one shilling a week as subscription. The ideas of the new Unions began to leaven the old ; political neutrality and individualistic theories which marked the older ones, were repudiated. State Socialism (such as nationalisation of land) and political pressure on the Government for socialistic legislation were adopted at the Trade Union Congress. This is New Unionism ; it grew apace.

The Governments were not unsympathetic to the demand for social reforms. In 1885 had been passed the *Housing Act* for purchasing slum areas and demolishing unfit buildings for the purpose of erecting new ones. In 1890 the local authorities were empowered to begin work under the Act. In the same year, a Royal Commission of Labour was appointed, with Hartington as the Chairman. In 1889 was instituted the Board of Agriculture in recognition of the new element introduced into the electorate by the Act of 1884. An Act for the prevention of cruelty to children and preventing their employment under 10 years was passed in 1889. In 1891 was passed the *Factory Act* limiting the hours of labour for women in factories to 12 hours a day and fixing the minimum age for children at 11 years and enforcing many sanitary regulations and precautions. The *Small Holdings Act* of 1892

empowered County Councils to borrow money on the security of the rates for the purpose of buying land and reselling them in plots of between 1 and 50 acres to actual cultivators, to whom three-fourths of the purchase money might be advanced.

It was in local municipal areas that the socialistic temper found full scope. And it was at this time that an Act was passed reorganising local government. The *Local Government Act* of 1888 extended representative local government from towns (where it had been established in 1835) to counties and to certain other towns (excluded by the Act of 1835) by the establishment of elected councils to take over most of the work previously discharged by nominated magistrates. In each county was to be established a council, three-fourths of whose members were to be elected by the rate-payers and the remaining one-fourth was to be aldermen co-opted by the councillors. To the County Councils were entrusted all powers except judicial and police. The Act created 62 administrative counties and some 60 county boroughs—towns with over 50,000 inhabitants. By the same Act London was made a separate administrative county, but the City of London retained most of its rights and privileges. Lord Rosebery was first President of the London County Council. In 1889 a similar Act was passed for Scotland, and in 1898 for Ireland.

In 1891 was passed the *Tithes Act*. According to this, the tithes which had been commuted into a fixed rent charge and which had hitherto been collected from the tenant, were henceforth to be paid by the landlord who was to be made responsible in case of non-payment. Thus the non-Conformist tenants were no longer to feel the payment of a tax towards the support of a religious communion to which they did not belong; and there were no longer to be any tithe riots such as had often taken place in Wales.

WHISKY MONEY.

Goschen's Budgets The financial condition and the low rate of interest prevalent at the time enabled Goschen the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to reduce for the next 15 years the rate of interest of a large part of the national debt from 3 to $2\frac{1}{4}$ p.c. and thus to lighten public burdens. This enabled him to diminish the income tax and to increase the contribution from the imperial revenue to the local governments created by the Act of 1888. The next noteworthy Budget of Goschen was that of 1890. He had a surplus of $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions which enabled him to reduce the tea duty by 2*d.* a pound. An extra tax of 6*d.* a gallon on spirits (known as 'whisky money') and a third of the beer duty were handed over to the County Councils for promotion of technical education. A surplus enabled Government in 1891 to make elementary education free.

John Bright, 1811-89. Mention has been made of the public activities of John Bright and of the posts he held. But he is remembered not so much for what he did as for what he was. He was a noble specimen of humanity. Never was a man more unselfish and more devoid of ambition. Once in a private conversation in the House of Commons Disraeli said to him, "You know what you and I come here for. We come here for fame". Disraeli was temperamentally incapable of believing that Bright had come there for discharging what he considered his duties and that he hated the life of the House of Commons. From his first entrance to public life Bright devoted himself to every great cause which he believed to be just. Loving his country with the passionate love of a patriot, he wished his country to be always on the right side and true to herself. His oratory was incomparable and he had all the requisites of an orator—a commanding presence, a thrilling voice and an effective simplicity of style.

Unhappily he made many political enemies. This was in

the first place due to the fact that his earnest and strenuous nature helped by powerful eloquence, led him to assail with crushing effect the policy of his Parliamentary opponents. Secondly, his admiration for the American Constitution induced the belief in his days that he was "an anti-English Englishman trying to Americanise our institutions". Thirdly, Bright believing that every country has always enough to do at home for its people, denounced extension of territory or influence abroad. This gave his opponents a handle to attack him as a narrow-minded 'Little Englander'.

He hated war in general. But he would not shrink from it, if it were for fighting wrong and injustice. He loved the working classes and the poor in general, but he never 'played to the gallery of the working classes'. Indeed for sometime he was not for giving franchise to them.

Deaths. A sad feature of the year 1891 was the mortality among members of Parliament. Charles Bradlaugh died (Jany. 1891) a respected member of the House. Two months later died Lord Granville, a shrewd diplomatist and an accomplished statesman. If his foreign policy was not successful (under second Gladstone Ministry), it was because he had merely to carry out the policy of a weak Cabinet against an able but unscrupulous diplomat, Bismarck. In May died Dr. Magee the Archbishop of York, who had won great fame by his oratory and opposition to the Irish Disestablishment Bill (1869). In Oct. died W. H. Smith, Leader of the House of Commons, and C. S. Parnell, the leader of the Irish party. Smith's transparent integrity and plain commonsense, had won him the respect of friends and foes alike.

Army and Navy. A surplus in the finance (*vide supra*) was rather surprising in view of the increase in the army and navy expenditure. "The nations of Europe were adopting the

somewhat strange measure of maintaining gigantic armaments. The received principle of the time was that peace was best maintained by preparation of war. Avowedly in fact there was the deepest mistrust among the various countries, and each thought it necessary to be in a condition to repel with certainty a possible invasion". In England the doctrine found acceptance, not for any aggressive invasion but for the necessary defence against any such action on the part of others ; and she naturally devoted great attention to her fleet. In 1888 attention had been drawn to the navy by Lord Charles Beresford. For naval defence the first Lord of the Admiralty drew up what is known after him as the "Hamilton programme". There was to be an increase to the navy of no less than 70 ships at a cost of £21½ millions beyond the ordinary estimates. In the same year of 1889 the "Two-power Standard" was adopted *i.e.*, the British navy should be maintained at least as strong as the two next strongest navies combined. The army estimate were conceived in a narrower spirit because it was thought that the navy was the best defence of the islands. The War Secretary Mr. Stanhope, had concentrated in the Commander-in-chief all military responsibility to the Secretary of State. A Royal Commission under Lord Hartington reported in 1890 against the concentration of authority in the Commander-in-chief.

The Newcastle Programme and the Election of 1892. The life of the Parliament of 1885 was coming to a close. Gladstone and his personal followers stood for Home Rule and little else. But what had the Liberal party to offer to the British electorate ? This was the Newcastle Programme so called because it was drawn up at the party convention in Newcastle. This programme proposed to disestablish the Churches of Scotland and Wales, to enable local areas to introduce what is *now* called 'prohibition', to abolish the plural

franchise, to establish district and parish councils and to conciliate the labour organisations. It was a comprehensive scheme giving something to each of the various sections of the Liberal party. In trying to satisfy all, it satisfied none. It made more enemies than friends.

The General Election of July 1892 gave Gladstone a majority of 40, counting the Irish Nationalists (called the 'Celtic fringe': Unionists numbered 315; Gladstonian Liberals 269 and Irish Home Rulers 81. This Election is noted for the return for the first time, of 4 Labour members to Parliament—John Burns, Keir Hardie and others. Instead of resigning the Government met the new Parliament. In August Mr. Asquith (now Lord Oxford) moved an amendment to the Queen's Address expressing want of confidence in Her Majesty's advisers. It was carried and the Government resigned. Gladstone formed his Fourth Ministry.

Section 18.

Gladstone's Fourth Ministry, 1892-94 Gladstone formed a Cabinet for the fourth time in August 1892. Lord Rosebery became Foreign Secretary; Mr. Asquith (now Earl of Oxford) Home Secretary; Lord Herschell Lord Chancellor, Marquis of Ripon Colonial Secretary; Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman, War Secretary; Sir William Harcourt, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Earl Spencer, First Lord of the Admiralty; and Mr. Morley (later Viscount Morley of Blackburn) Chief Secretary for Ireland. In constructing the Ministry, the Premier was hampered by the smallness of the Liberal majority and the necessity of conciliating every section of his party. Home Rule and the Newcastle Programme were to occupy their attention.

Domestic Events. The first event was the second Home Rule Bill which was rejected by the Lords (See Chapter on *Ireland*.) In 1894 was passed the *Local Government Bill* establishing elective district and parish councils. This completed the framework of representative local government begun in 1888. In March 1894 Gladstone finally retired from public life which had so long centred round him. He was old and his eyesight and hearing were failing. This was the physical cause. The political cause was that he could not agree to the swollen expenditure on armaments which Lord Spencer was proposing. He did not like to identify himself with militarism.

Rosebery Ministry, March 1894—June 1895. On the resignation of Gladstone the Queen sent for Rosebery who became the Premier and the Foreign Office was entrusted to the Earl of Kimberly. Had Gladstone been consulted, he would have recommended Earl Spencer. But as it happened, his advice was not sought by the Queen who did not even 'pretend to regret his retirement'. There was no Liberal leader of undisputed pre-eminence, so the Queen exercised her discretion and conferred the first place on Rosebery. The position of the Ministry was insecure; it was weakened by internal dissensions. Two measures were proposed, one to give the inhabitants of each locality the option to prohibit the sale of liquor and the other to disestablish the Welsh Church. The Local Veto Bill got no further than the first reading; and the Welsh Disestablishment Bill was in the Committee stage when the Ministry fell. The end of the Rosebery Government came on a defeat in a debate on Army estimates. An amendment was carried calling attention to the insufficient provision of small ammunition, especially cordite. Rosebery was glad of an excuse to resign (June 1895). Salisbury formed his third Ministry.

Harcourt's Budget. Sir William Harcourt was the Chancellor of the Exchequer as well as the leader of the House of Commons. He once (1888) startled the House by saying "We are all Socialists now". It was not a joke but a significant utterance which has since become proverbial. When he became Chancellor he gave ample proof of what he meant by the saying. He was at the Exchequer during the Third and Fourth Gladstone and Rosebury Cabinets. As Chancellor he made no impression in 1886 ; in 1893 the whole time was absorbed by Home Rule ; in 1894 he got his opportunity and made magnificent use of it. The Budget of 1894 is his anchor in history ; it was distinctly radical and socialistic. To meet a deficit of more than two millions, he had recourse to the duties on succession which had not materially altered since Gladstone had extended them to real property in 1853. The charges on the two kinds of property, real and personal, were assimilated and duties were imposed on the total market value of a deceased person's estate. The rate was graduated from 1 to 8 p.c. on estates valued from £100 to £1,000,000 and above. The ultimate gain to the Treasury was put at 4 millions ; but in the first year it was not likely to exceed one million. Hence the income tax was raised from 7 to 8d. in the pound, but the taxable minimum was raised from £150 to £160 ; and additional duties were put on spirits and beer. The Budget excited the opposition of the property-owners and could be conducted through the House of Commons by narrow majorities. The Lords made no attempt to hinder it. While lightening the burden on the poorer taxpayers, the Finance Act gave the Government additional income to meet the ever-increasing bill of social reform and Imperial defence.

Lord Randolph Churchill. On January 24, 1895 Lord Randolph died at the early age of forty-six. Twice he held

important office—once in the first Salisbury Ministry 1885-6 as Secretary of State for India and again for a few months in the second Government of the same Premier in 1886 as Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House of Commons. It has already been narrated how disagreeing with the army and navy estimates he resigned after 4 months of office, and to his surprise, found Salisbury accepting his resignation. "He (Salisbury) clutched at my resignation" said Lord Randolph at a private party, "as a dog would clutch at a bone". In this way his meteoric career was brought to an abrupt close. As Secretary for India, his capacity for work and sense of responsibility won him universal praise. It has been said that the tragic failure of his last years brought into prominence the successes of his energetic prime.

Lord Randolph was a Tory Democrat and a born fighter. As a Tory Democrat in domestic matters he may be said to have been the true heir of Disraeli. But his Democracy was more sincere than his Toryism. A Conservative he was only in name,—sympathies were with the older Radicalism. 'Peace Retrenchment and Reform' were his watchwords. Bloated armaments he disliked; for a spirited foreign policy of the Disraelian type he had no regard,—for class privileges he had nothing but contempt. He stood for advanced legislation at home, reforming parliamentary procedure and remodelling local government and local taxation. He tried to popularise the doctrines of Tory Democracy by skilful appeals to the impulses of the masses, to win attention by audacious humour and memorable phrases and to reorganise the Conservative party so as to ensure due recognition for the wishes of the average voter. He alone of the Conservative leaders had a personal hold on the electorate comparable to that possessed by Gladstone and Chamberlain.

As a fighter he is seen to the best advantage during the Parliament of 1880. He broke loose from the Conservative leader Sir Stafford Northcote, formed his Fourth Party and organised a systematic attack on the Liberal Government. When Gladstone introduced his Home Rule Bill, his keen eye saw the real vulnerable point in his opponent's line and he raised the war-cry, "Ulster will fight and Ulster will be right." He denounced the Bill as a "farrago of superlative nonsense designed to gratify the ambition of an old man in a hurry."

In view of all that has been said the son's estimate of the father seems well justified; Winston Churchill thus writes about Lord Randolph: "At a time when Liberal formulas and Tory inertia seemed alike chill and comfortless, he warmed the heart of England and strangely stirred the imagination of her people."

Section 19.

The Third Salisbury Cabinet, June 1895—July 1902. Lord Salisbury formed his third and last Ministry. He himself took the Foreign Office. Balfour (the Premier's nephew) became as before, the First Lord of the Treasury and leader of the Commons; Duke of Devonshire (Lord Hartington) President of the Council; Joseph Chamberlain, Colonial Secretary; Goschen, First Lord of the Admiralty; Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Marquis of Lansdowne, Secretary for War; Lord Halsbury Lord Chancellor; Sir M. White-Ridely, Home Secretary and Lord George Hamilton, Secretary for India. In July 1895 Parliament was dissolved for a fresh Election which resulted in the complete triumph of the Unionists who obtained a majority of 152 over the Liberals and Nationalists combined. The

success of the Unionists was largely due to the dissensions* in the Liberal rank. The chief point to note is the inclusion of Liberal Unionists in the Cabinet. Goschen had joined in 1887 : Devonshire, Chamberlain (a Radical) and Lansdowne joined in 1895. But it must not be inferred that this Ministry was a coalition. It was a Unionist Ministry. Nine years of co-operation had fused the Conservatives and the Liberal Unionists into one party, the latter had become Imperialists and the former had become more democratic.

Review of Party Politics. History of the two parties down to 1859 has already been traced. The Whigs had become Liberals and the Tories had become Conservatives. The former set themselves to break down the rule of the landowner and the Church, to shake off the fetters of Protection and to establish equality before the law ; and the latter stood for the Crown, the Church and the Constitution (See Disraeli's programme). But the Conservatives by the irresistible trend of events were compelled to accept democratic principles and to carry out democratic and social reforms. Democratic principles having been adopted, both parties vied with each other in redressing grievances of the people. Other grievances being removed, Gladstone took up the Irish cause and shattered the Liberal party in 1886, as Peel had shattered his party in 1846. The old lines of cleavage between parties were obliterated. They were now divided on the Irish question—Unionists or

*Gladstone did not seek re-election. Rosebery was not popular with his party ; he was opposed by Sir William Harcourt who had no faith in the leader's imperial policy as much as the leader did not believe in the efficacy of the Newcastle programme. In 1899 on Rosebery's resignation Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman was chosen chief of the Liberal party. One of the causes of Rosebery's unpopularity with the Non-conformists (Liberal) was that his horse won the Derby race.

Home Rulers (Gladstonian Liberals). The Election of 1886 as well as that of 1895 gave the mandate that the legislative union with Ireland was to be preserved untouched. The Liberal Unionists seceded from the Gladstonian Liberals, and joined the Conservatives ; and the alliance modified the policies of both. Thus, for example, Joseph Chamberlain from a protagonist of Radical Non-conformity was transformed into the champion of imperial solidarity. Thus a great change in the party system was effected. The Unionists remained in power for 20 years 1886-1906, with the exception of a short interval (1892-94) during which Gladstone again tried to carry his Home Rule Bill through but failed. The electorate supported the Unionists (mostly Conservatives) not only on the Home Rule question but also on other questions as, for instance, the South African War. The "Khaki" election of 1900 returned the Unionists to carry the War on to a successful issue.

A new element was introduced into party politics by the return of four Labour members in the General Election of 1892—John Burns, Keir Hardie and two others. So long the working-men members of Parliament had identified themselves with the Radicals who formed the left wing of the Liberal party. In 1893 the Independent Labour Party was formed, pledged to the advocacy of Socialism. Though too weak to achieve anything, the members of the Labour Party considered it their duty "to sit in opposition, till they crossed the House to form a Government" some thirty years later.

The Diamond Jubilee : Growth of the Imperial Idea. In 1897 the Queen completed the sixtieth year of her reign and it was made the occasion for universal rejoicing in Great Britain. The whole country made holiday ; every village had its bonfire. On June 22, a thanksgiving service

was held on the steps of St. Paul's. The procession through London was magnificent ; but public attention was riveted upon the Premiers of the self-governing colonies and representatives of India and the Crown colonies. The Colonial delegates met in conference where they discussed imperial defence and trade within the Empire. There was also a naval review at Spithead.

The Jubilee celebrations of 1897, as of 1887, marked the zenith of the personal popularity of the Queen among her subjects ; they drew closer the bond between Great Britain and her colonies and India. The Crown whose position in the domestic politics had declined, assumed a new rôle as the symbol of the unity of the British Empire. The mid-century idea was separation of the colonies. Beaconsfield followed a policy of imperial consolidation but the full tide did not come till the eighties. Sir John Seeley's *Expansion of England* (1883) indicated the change of opinion. The national mind was filled with a strong imperialist sentiment. The Colonial Secretary, Joseph Chamberlain, was its best exponent. The causes leading to the growth of Imperialism were varied. The prodigious expansion of Russia, Germany and U.S.A. portended the establishment of powers, military and economic, which would overwhelm by their magnitude the older states of the world like Great Britain. At this time Seeley in his *Expansion of England* pointed out that the political future belonged to the big states. At once began the scramble for Africa and England not only took part in the grab but also strengthened her position by uniting the several parts of the Empire with herself. This union of remote parts had been made possible by the invention of steam and electricity which annihilated both space and time. Further an example in federating together practically independent units, had been set by the

U.S.A. Self-government England granted and the colonies accepted with good grace. This was advantageous to both ; and it satisfied the Colonies so far that the idea of uniting themselves with the mother country was no less prominent in them than in Great Britain. The new policy of high Protection adopted by most States (including some of the Colonies) caused an anxiety concerning the commercial and industrial future and concerning the supply of food and raw materials in times of war. Hence arose a strong desire to secure and control the Home and Colonial markets and Imperialism rendered it possible.

Domestic Events. The Conservatives had not been sparing in their promises to secure success at the Election. Election promises are, more often than not, hard to fulfil. Moreover, the presence of some Liberal elements in the Cabinet raised some apprehensions as to its smooth working. But an overflowing revenue and the unusual excitement of a popular war (Boer War 1899-1902) carried the Government triumphantly through all difficulties. The most important piece of social legislation was (a) *the Workmen's Compensation Act* of 1897 which entitled the workmen to compensation for death or injury sustained during employment even in spite of contributory negligence on the part of the workmen. It was quite consistent with the *fin de siècle* socialism to which reference has already been made. But opposition was at first raised to it on the ground that it favoured the class of labourers who worked with machinery and excluded agricultural labourers and domestic servants. These latter had to wait for a few years more. (b) According to the Act of 1888 London had been given a County Council, but the city had been excluded from its jurisdiction. The city had its old corporation. In 1899 by the *Government of London Act* the

area under the lately created County Council was broken up into municipalities. In the same year (*c*) the *Board of Education Act* was passed creating a Board composed of the principal Secretaries, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and others.

The Boer War will be treated in the chapter on S. Africa. But it may be convenient here to say that the War being disastrous in the beginning caused a feeling of irritation in the country. When the War had taken a decidedly favourable turn, Chamberlain persuaded Salisbury to appeal to the country (Sept. 1900) on the question of fighting the war to a finish. The Election, called 'Khaki' Election from the uniform worn by the troops in S. Africa, gave the Government a majority of 134 and thus a fresh lease of power.

Death of Gladstone ; his statesmanship. It has been said that Gladstone retired in 1894. In 1896 the Armenian massacres induced him (as the Bulgarian atrocities of 1876 had done) to appear once more and for the last time, on the political arena to denounce the Turkish enormities. On May 19, 1898 he died. The storm of party strife which had beaten so wildly round him, was for a moment hushed. Salisbury and Balfour vied with Harcourt and Morley in eulogising the statesman who had left so broad an impress on the history of his country. He will leave behind him, Lord Salisbury said, the memory of a great Christian statesman. Religion permeated his whole life and he strove to apply the principles of Christianity to all the problems he had to deal with. It is not easy or probably impossible, to do so. But to say this is to emphasize the distinction between him and his great German contemporary, Bismarck. They had little in common except that in the closing years of life both had fallen from power and position. It was Gladstone's Home Rule obsession that alienated many including the Queen.

In contrasting with Disraeli some of the characteristics of Gladstone have already been mentioned. It remains to note his deep faith in the efficacy of Parliamentary institutions. He whole-heartedly devoted himself to the cause of reforms at home. So long as Palmerston lived, he was restrained but the old veteran had thus correctly prophesied : "Gladstone will soon have it all his own way ; and whenever he gets my place, we shall have strange doings".

His principal achievement was in the sphere of finance. His financial proposals were sound ; and his Budget speeches were superb. "Here was an orator" says Mr. Russell, "who could apply all the resources of a burnished rhetoric to the elucidation of figures ; who could make pippins and cheese interesting and tea serious ; who could sweep the widest horizon of the financial future and yet stoop to bestow the minutest attention on the microcosm of penny stamps and post-horses".

Partly due to retrenchment and economy and partly to the conviction of the resultant evils, he was opposed to militarism, to wasting war and bloated armaments. These account for his pacific foreign policy. "My name stands in Europe as a symbol of the policy of peace, moderation and non-aggression. For more than 62 years I have been uniformly opposed Militarism". But this did not prevent him from championing and, if necessary, from actively championing, the cause of the weak and the oppressed. The brutal treatment of the Liberals of Naples by its king, the Bulgarian atrocities, and the Armenian massacres drew forth eloquent fulminations from him.

His dignified and impressive oratory, his administrative efficiency, his effective power of debate, and his versatile interest make him one of the greatest figures in British history.

"He was" says Morley, "one of the three statesmen in the House of Commons of his own generation who had the gift of large and spacious conception of the place and power of England in the world and of the policies by which she could maintain it. Cobden and Disraeli were the other two. Each of these was capable of wide surveys from high eminence. But Gladstone's performances in the sphere of active government were beyond comparison".

Death of Queen Victoria ; a character-sketch.

The Queen was in her eightieth year when the Boer War broke out. The opening reverses of the war, she felt keenly. Yet she did all that was needed ; it was at her advice that Lord Roberts was sent out with large reinforcements ; she "went in and out among people, encouraging fighters, consoling the wounded, comforting the bereaved and warning the ministers." In appreciation of the Irish help in the war, she paid a visit to Ireland where she was enthusiastically welcomed. She received at Osborne on January 2, 1901, Lord Roberts on his return from S. Africa to hear from him the great deeds of her troops there. Her last illness was very short. On Jany. 19, the public learnt that she was ill and on January 22 that she had passed away. Never did perhaps the death of a monarch evoke such deep-felt and personal sorrow.

Her personal character was of a high order. She was a pattern of domestic virtues. Her goodness and purity, sympathy and sincerity inspired the respect and affection of all. Her passionate patriotism, her incomparable judgement, her absolute truthfulness, her unshrinking devotion to duty, set a high example, elevated the people and enabled England to steer clear of many shoals and rocks during the long period of nearly 64 years. She passed away, as Balfour said, without an enemy in the world, for even those who loved not England,

loved her. Lord Rosebery said, "She saw that the essential dignity of the throne does not lie in pomps and palaces but in the dignity of supreme example ; and the watchwords of her life, so far as we could discern them, were duty and sympathy".

Under George III the throne was popular but not respected ; under George IV it was neither ; William IV restored its popularity but not its dignity and respect. Such was the position of Monarchy at the time when she 'stepped out of the school-room to take the headship of the nation.' In the middle of the reign, during the early years of her widowhood she worsened her position by her seclusion. But during the last thirty years of her reign she won back public respect and popularity for the monarchy in her person and put an end to the Republican movement not so much by what 'she did as by what she was and by what she abstained from doing. She disarmed political hostility to the throne by effacing its occupant as a governing power. She was content with a purely consultative function in relation to Ministers chosen in effect by the Parliament, sometimes even against her own ideas of fitness'. Thus was Constitutional Monarchy allowed to strike its roots deep into the British soil. She was regarded not merely as the model of a constitutional monarch but as the sovereign who had raised the Crown above the dusty disputes of factions and controversy and who in herself 'represented the long pedigree of freedom' and embodied the sentiment of unity that bound the whole Commonwealth.

The England of 1901 was to a large extent different from that of 1837. That the country was carried through the period of transition without any danger to the peace and stability of civil life was mainly due to her influence. Salisbury said, "She bridged over the great interval which separates old

England from new England. Other nations may have had to pass through similar trials, but have seldom passed through them so peaceably, so easily and with so much prosperity and success as we have. We owe this to the tact and wisdom of the Sovereign whom we deplore".

CHAPTER II.

FOREIGN POLICY.

Section I.

Treaties of Unkiar Skelessi and London. Though 1837 is no important date in the history of British foreign policy, yet the achievement on the whole, of the Melbourne Ministry (1835-41) in that sphere was considerable. Its conduct of foreign affairs was as energetic as its domestic politics were supine. The reason of it was the personality of the Foreign Secretary, Lord Palmerston. His life and the features of his foreign policy will be found elsewhere. We are here concerned with the problems that confronted him in the thirties.

Turkey possessed Egypt and the Balkans besides her Asiatic territories; and the Empire included many Christians of the Greek Church and of the Slavonic race. Russia thus was affined by a double tie of race and religion to a large number of the Sultan's subjects whom the Tsar claimed to protect. But the Tsar's intention was not so benevolent. He

wanted an outlet into the Eastern Mediterranean and this could be accomplished only at the expense of Turkey which unfortunately at that time and for sometime after was decaying. This was the essence of the Eastern Question. It had more than one phase : as defined by Morley, it was a shifting and interwoven tangle of conflicting interests, rival peoples and antagonistic faiths. To check the advance of Russia, England firmly stood for the integrity of the Turkish Empire which, in the thirties, was menaced not only from outside by Russia but by a force from within.

Mahomet Ali was the Sultan's viceroy of Egypt. Finding himself strong enough to do so, the ambitious viceroy demanded the cession of Syria which however the Porte refused. In the war that followed Russia helped Turkey and got her reward in the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi (July, 1833). By it the key of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles virtually passed into Russian keeping and the Black Sea became a Russian lake. Supreme on the Black Sea and the Narrow Straits safe for her, Russia obtained the objects of her desire. But the treaty roused the jealous interest of England which became more than ever seriously alarmed at the Russian progress in South Eastern Europe ; and for the next half a century the problem of the Near East revolved round the lively antagonism of England and Russia.

Consequent on the refusal of Mahomet Ali to pay tribute to the Porte there broke out in 1839 a war between Turkey and Egypt ; and the former was badly worsted. Palmerston could no longer be a passive spectator. Two things* must be done : Mahomet Ali must withdraw from Syria and retire into his original shell of Egypt ; secondly, Turkey must be freed from the clutches of Russia. To effect these, strong and collective action of the Powers was necessary. But the policy

of France was pro-Egyptian, whereas that of England was pro-Turkish. So a Quadruple Alliance (July 1840) between Great Britain, Russia, Austria and Prussia was concluded and terms of peace were offered to Mahomet Ali who however refused them. A combined fleet of England, Austria and Turkey bombarded Beyrut and Sidon ; Sir Charles Napier took Acre. Mahomet Ali realised the futility of further resistance. In the final treaty France was included. The Treaty of London, known also as the Convention of the Straits (July 1841), restored Syria and Arabia to the Porte, confirmed Mahomet Ali in the hereditary Pashalik of Egypt under the suzerainty of the Sultan and admitted the right of the Porte to close the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus to all foreign ships of war in time of peace. The treaty of Unkiar Skelessi was torn up ; for the sole protectorate of Russia was substituted a collective guarantee of Turkish independence by the Powers of Europe. The Ottoman Power was saved from the aggressive ambitions of its powerful vassal whose only ally became a party to the definitive arrangements of the Powers. In fact, Palmerston imposed his will on Europe. But under the set-back Russia chafed ; and as such it is no exaggeration to say that the treaty of 1841 sowed the seed of the Crimean War.

Independence of Belgium. The settlement of 1815 had forcibly united Belgium with Holland. In point of race, language and faith the two countries differed. When Belgium rose for separation from Holland in the thirties it found a friend in Palmerston who aimed at erecting an independent Belgium under European guarantee and at depriving France of any undue influence on the country or of acquisition of any part of Belgian territory. He gained his objects by the treaty concluded in 1839.

The Entente Cordiale. Enough has been said to exhibit the clashing interest and keen jealousy between England and France. Nevertheless Palmerston preferred to cultivate good understanding with France. He knew that "in our alliance with France we are riding a run-away horse and must always be on our guard". Friendship thus offered, was reciprocated by Louis Philippe who termed it *entente cordiale*. Russia and Austria were the fountain-head of reactionary ideas and as compared with them, France was liberal and therefore considered worthy of an alliance. Already there existed a league* of the despotic Powers of Eastern Europe—Austria, Russia and Prussia. As a counterpoise to this league of despots Palmerston concluded (1834) a Quadruple alliance among the constitutional states of Western Europe—England, France, Spain and Portugal. Thus he organised the constitutional Powers in a well-defined opposition to the reactionary Powers of Eastern Europe. It gave expression to what Palmerston had always stood for in Europe—constitutionalism.

Strictly speaking, the Anglo-French friendship was never an accomplished fact; it was always in the making. The obstacles in the way of its realisation were many. The interests of the two countries clashed; traditional distrust existed between them; in each there were influential men who could not think well of the other; the agents of the two countries at foreign courts intrigued against one another. Lastly, Russia was always ready to widen the rift in the *entente*. Subsequent events will illustrate these general statements. Self-interest induced Louis Napoleon of France into only a temporary coalition with England in the Crimean War.

* Known as the League of Munchengratz (Sept. 1833), a continuation of the Holy Alliance.

War with China. Palmerston involved his country in a war with China called the Opium War (1839—42). English merchants had a brisk and profitable trade with China, especially in Indian opium. The Chinese governments desired to put down this trade in opium which they considered highly detrimental to health and morals and even to forbid all commercial dealings with foreigners. China's prayer to Europe, says Mc Carthy, was that of Diogenes to Alexander—'stand out of my sunshine'. The determination of English merchants to force China to open her door to foreign commerce, was rendered all the more unjustifiable by the fact that the most valuable portion of the trade consisted in an injurious drug. The justice of the Chinese cause, however, was much obscured by the high-handed conduct of Lin who had been sent to Canton by the Chinese governments to put a stop to the opium traffic. He demanded the surrender of all opium in possession of the English traders in Canton, to which Capt. Elliot, the English Superintendent, acceded. Next, Commissioner Lin demanded that all vessels engaged in that traffic thereafter were to be confiscated and the traders to be put to death. War consequently ensued. It was easy enough for the English to defeat the Chinese troops. The island of Chusan was captured; Ningpo fell and Canton and Nankin seemed within grasp. In the meantime the Whigs had fallen and the Conservative Government of Peel brought the war to end by concluding the Treaty of Nankin (Aug. 1842). Hongkong was ceded to England; five ports, hence known as Treaty Ports, Canton, Amoy, Shanghai, Ningpo, and Foo-Chow-Foo, were thrown open to the trade of the world; and a large amount was obtained as indemnity and ransom. The Treaty was hailed with enthusiasm, especially as it brought a huge sum. But it marked no final settlement with China. "As the chil-

dren say that snow brings more snow, so did that war with China bring other wars to follow it".

Section 2.

Aberdeen's Peace Policy. When Peel became Prime Minister in 1841 he placed Lord Aberdeen at the Foreign Office. Pre-eminently a peace minister, Aberdeen strenuously strove to preserve cordial relations with France and was materially helped in this direction by the exchange of visits between Queen Victoria and Louis Philippe and by the personal friendship between Peel and Guizot. These however did not suffice to prevent the two nations from coming near the brink of war over the Tahiti question. Tahiti is one of the Society Island which were arbitrarily declared to be French territory by the Admiral Petit-Thouars; and Pritchard, the British ex-envoy, was imprisoned. Queen Pomare of Tahiti appealed for aid to England which was indignant at the high-handed imprisonment of an Englishman. With Palmerston at the head, this gross indignity to an Englishman would certainly have eventuated in war. As it was, compensation in money, readily agreed to by the French government, solved the difficulty (1843-44). France was next suspected of designs against the integrity of Morocco whose Sultan had given shelter to the Algerian chief flying from French arms. France demanded the expulsion of the chief and an assurance of neutrality from the Sultan who yielded the demands only after armed pressure had been brought to bear upon him. France then withdrew; England recovered equanimity.

The relations between England and U.S.A. were anything but satisfactory. But Aberdeen's policy of conciliation succeeded better with U. S. A. than with France. The causes of friction between the two countries were varied and of

long standing. During the Canadian rebellion of 1837 a boat, *Caroline*, had been captured and destroyed by the English on American territory for having rendered help to the Canadian insurgents. Four years after in 1841 Alexander McLeod who had come to New York on business, was arrested and tried for being a member of the British force that had violated American territory for capturing the *Caroline*. The incident excited great sensation which however died down when McLeod was acquitted. The second source of irritation was the right of search. British cruisers claimed and the Americans resented, the right of searching American vessels for the purpose of ascertaining if they were carrying slaves from Africa or not. Then again there were outstanding some boundary disputes between Canada and U.S.A. Lord Ashburton was sent on a special mission to Washington and after discussion with Webster, the American Secretary, a treaty known as Washington or Ashburton-Webster Treaty, was concluded in 1842. The boundary between British Canada and U.S.A. on the north east was settled to the satisfaction of both parties and the Americans engaged to co-operate with England in suppressing the African slave-trade. Equally successful was Aberdeen in settling the boundary between Oregon and U.S.A. on the western or Pacific side. The Oregon treaty of 1846 fixed the 49th parallel of latitude as the boundary and gave the British undisputed possession of Vancouver island and made the Columbia free to navigation by subjects of the two countries.

Section 3.

Portugal and Spain. With the return of Palmerston to Foreign Office in July 1846, British foreign policy again

assumed that assertive importance which it had lost during Aberdeen's tenure.

Palmerston had inherited from George Canning the Iberian problem in relation to which he continued the same policy. England in co-operation with France, had seated (1833) on the throne of Spain, as well as of Portugal, a young queen who headed the constitutional party in her dominion in opposition to the forces of absolutism led in each case by an uncle claiming the throne. In 1846 the followers of Dom Miguel (uncle of Queen Maria of Portugal) again created troubles, but England, France and Spain intervened to restore the authority of the Queen and hence also the ascendancy of the Constitutional party.

The Spanish problem reappeared under a different garb. Queen Isabella was to be married. The idea of a French Prince marrying the Queen of Spain, as Louis Philippe very much desired, revived all the apprehensions of past history. After an interchange of visits (1844-45) between Queen Victoria and Louis Philippe, it was settled that the Duc de Montpensier, younger son of the French King, was to marry the younger sister (Maria Louisa) of the Spanish Queen after the birth of an heir to the Spanish throne. Aberdeen also gave Guizot to understand that England would not encourage the marriage of Queen Isabella with Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, nephew of the Belgian King and cousin of Prince Albert. Palmerston on coming to office in 1846 mentioned in a despatch to France, the possible candidature of Prince Leopold which gave Louis Philippe a pretext to repudiate his promise. The two royal sisters were married on the same day (Oct. 10, 1846), the Queen to the Duke of Cadiz and her sister to Montpensier. It was no doubt an infamous breach of promise; but it lost all significance when soon after the Queen had children and it lost all importance

when two years after Louis Philippe was expelled from France. But at the time it caused a great sensation. The English Queen dubbed the conduct of the French King as 'shabbily dishonest' and Palmerston took the question up with characteristic vigour and inflamed the quarrel which he would have done better to allay. The Anglo-French *entente* was broken almost past repair.

The misunderstanding between England and France was deftly turned to good account by the Eastern Powers. Austria with the consent of Russia and Prussia, annexed (Nov. 1846) the free city of Cracow, the last remnant of independent Poland, on the pretext that it had fomented disturbances in Galicia. England could not concert action with France against the annexation. Palmerston protested alone and in vain. Nevertheless in other cases he pursued with sleepless vigilance 'to get the affairs of Europe into trim.'

The Swiss Sonderbund. In Switzerland the Catholic and the Protestant cantons were at war over the presence of Jesuits and the maintenance of monasteries. The Protestants having a majority in the Swiss Diet decided (1847) to expel the Jesuits and to coerce the Catholic cantons into the Union from which they wanted to secede. The continental Powers led by Austria held that the formation of the *Sonderbund* or Separatist League by the Catholic cantons had dissolved the Union and desired collective intervention to end the Swiss turmoil. But Palmerston stood up for the neutrality of Switzerland and by doing so, kept the ring for the Protestant cantons who in the meantime had despatched the federal force under General Dufour for suppressing the *Sonderbund*. The General did his work well. The federal union was consolidated under the watchful eye of Palmerston. The intervention of the reactionary Courts was warded off.

Palmerston and the Revolution of 1848. A wave of revolutionary upheaval swept over Europe in 1848. North Italy shook off Austrian domination and seemed to be united under the hegemony of Sardinia; Hungary rose against Austria; Bohemia and many parts of Germany were in revolt; so also the Sicilies. Metternich, the fount of mischievous reaction, was driven into exile; Louis Philippe abdicated and France declared the second Republic.

Palmerston revelled in the situation. He found ample scope for lecturing on constitutional government to foreign states and for upholding the cause of oppressed nationalities. He favoured the formation of an Italian federation and thus strongly expressed his opinion: "I cannot regret the expulsion of Austria from Italy. North of the Alps we wish her all the prosperity and success in the world." He authorised indirect supply of arms to the Sicilian insurgents. When the Hungarian revolt was suppressed and the leading spirits, Kossuth and others, fled to Turkey, he advised the Sultan not to surrender them to Austria; and when Austria threatened war, he acting in concert with the French government, ordered the British fleet up to the Dardanelles. This 'judicious bottle-holding,' as it was subsequently termed, saved both Turkey and the Hungarian patriots. Meanwhile all the wishes of Palmerston had been foiled. The democratic and national movement of '48 lacked cohesion and discipline; it collapsed completely, and autocracy was re-established in 1849. But the tumultuous episode left behind a disgust for Palmerston and the Palmerstonian policy. The Queen wrote to the Foreign Secretary that 'she was ashamed of the policy which he was pursuing in the Italian controversy.' Russell at the time of forming the Ministry had promised to restrain the Foreign Secretary. Restrain him he could not. By the spring of 1850 the Premier had decided

to remove him from the Foreign Office. But in June of that year occurred the Pacifico debate which raised the Foreign Secretary to the pinnacle of popularity.

Don Pacifico Debate. Don Pacifico was a Portuguese Jew born in Gibraltar and therefore a British subject. He was residing at Athens where his house was sacked by an Athenian mob. There was also the case of the historian Finlay who had been deprived of part of his garden for the Greek king's palace. Insignificant in origin, the question of compensation assumed an international character owing to Palmerston's belief that the French envoy in Athens was advising the Greek Government to resist the claims. The claims (especially of Don Pacifico) no doubt were exorbitant. But that did not matter to the Foreign Secretary, who, after some fruitless demands, ordered early in 1850 Admiral Parker to blockade the Athenian coast. France, as one of the powers that had guaranteed the independence of Greece, offered mediation which was accepted but proved to be of no avail. The French ambassador, Drouyn de Lhuys, was withdrawn from London and a new quarrel threatened to break out. But quite suddenly the Greek opposition crumpled up,—and the Greek government agreed to indemnify Finlay and Pacifico. Of course the arbitrators cut down the monstrous claims of Don Pacifico from £27,000 to £150. Worthless and obscure, Don has given his name to history.

The conduct of Palmerston did not pass uncriticised. In the House of Lords a resolution was carried against the high-handed action of the Government (June, 1850). The Cabinet though disapproving the unconventional methods of Palmerstonian diplomacy, must in pursuance of the Cabinet principle of joint responsibility, support a member. Roebuck was selected to bring in a resolution in the House of Commons formally approving of the Government policy. All the 'anti-Parns' rose

and delivered a massed attack on the Foreign Minister who defended himself boldly. He contended in a powerful speech that lasted from the dusk of one day to the dawn of the next, that the poorest claimant who bore the name of English citizen should be protected by the whole strength of England against the oppression of a foreign government, just "as in the days of old the Roman held himself free from indignity when he could say *Civis Romanus sum*". *Civis Romanus* settled the matter. The resolution which was in reality a vote of confidence, was carried by a majority of 46. The victory was all with Palmerston. He 'wrestled well and overthrew more than his enemies.' Thus from the misfortunes of a poor Israelite was Palmerston given the opportunity of routing his enemies and of gaining the most signal success of his life.

The Don Pacifico debate had another significance. "The superb insolence of the analogy between a Roman and a British citizen" says Prof. Ramsay Muir, "delighted the heart of the British people; it was perhaps the highest note of that self-complacency which marked the mid-century". And Palmerston was the embodiment of the 'limited, kindly and self-satisfied outlook of the time.'

Dismissal of Palmerston. Angry at Palmerston's cavalier way of doing business, and finding remonstrances useless, the Queen (Aug. 12, 1850) drafted a memorandum requiring that (1) "he (Palmerston) will distinctly state what he proposes to do in a given case, in order that the Queen may know as distinctly to what she has given her royal sanction; (2) having once given her sanction to a measure that it be not arbitrarily altered or modified by the Minister; and (3) that she expects (a) to be kept informed of what passes between him and the foreign ministers before important decisions are taken based upon that intercourse, (b) to receive the foreign despatches in

good time and (c) to have the drafts for her approval sent her in time". The tone of the memorandum was severe but the contents reasonable and the Foreign Secretary consented to abide by them.

Louis Kossuth, the Hungarian hero, came to England and was received with great cordiality. His fascinating personality, stately eloquence and the memory of his noble fight for freedom, flung a spell over all who came in contact with him. It was reported that he was to be received by the Foreign Secretary who was to be thanked for his 'judicious bottle-holding'. This was forbidden by the Cabinet and Palmerston yielded. But soon after a Radical deputation presented him an address in which his anti-Austrian policy was extolled. Palmerston never concealed his hatred for the Austrians, whom he considered 'the greatest brutes who had ever called themselves by the undeserved name of civilised men.'

The way had been prepared ; and the crowning indiscretion was committed by the Foreign Secretary in Dec. 1851 when the bloody *coup d'état* of Louis Napoleon overthrew the second Republic of France. The British Government decided to observe strict neutrality and passiveness in regard to the event in France. Lord Normanby, British ambassador in Paris, maintained silence accordingly, but was told by the Foreign Minister of France that Palmerston had already expressed to Count Walewski, the French ambassador in London, his entire approval of what Louis Napoleon had done. When Normanby's despatch conveyed this fact to the Queen and the Premier, the Foreign Secretary defended it as an opinion expressed in a private conversation. But the cup was full. He ceased to be Foreign Secretary and his place was taken by Lord Granville. To the Queen as well as to the Courts of Vienna, Berlin and St. Petersburg, Palmerston's

dismissal gave undisguised joy. It has already been mentioned in the chapter on Home Politics that the Russell Ministry could not survive the loss of its most popular member.

Section 4.

The Crimean War. The Ministry that replaced Russell's was a short-lived one. Derby was the Premier and Lord Malmesbury, an intimate friend of Napoleon III, was the Foreign Secretary. Throughout 1852 England was stricken with the panic of a French invasion. It died away only to be revived a few years after.

In Dec. 1852 Aberdeen formed a Coalition Cabinet first with Lord Russell, then with Lord Clarendon, as Foreign Secretary. The Government of Aberdeen declared the Crimean War and that of Palmerston brought it to a triumphant termination in 1856. To that war we pass on.

Salisbury once said, "The living nations will gradually encroach upon the territory of the dying and the seeds and causes of conflict among civilised nations will speedily appear." The words were applicable to the European situation in the fifties. To Nicholas the Tsar, Turkey was 'a sick man who might suddenly die and his heritage fall into chaos and dissolution'. Hence he was willing to come to an understanding with England as to the course to be pursued in common in case of the death of the sick man. England was ready to go so far with Russia as to see that the defects of the Ottoman Government were removed and above all, that its Christian subjects were treated with toleration and mildness. Though this had been the Tsar's original intention as revealed in his conversations with Aberdeen, the Duke of Wellington and others during his stay in England in 1844, he advanced a step further

by 1853 ; and in the course of conversations (January and February) with Sir Hamilton Seymour, the British ambassador in St. Petersburg, he expressed the idea of partitioning the sick man's dominions whereby Egypt, Crete and Cyprus were to fall to England's share. To any such thing the English ministers refused to be a party. In the first place they shared with Palmerston the belief that ten years of peace and good government would make Turkey a respectable Power. Secondly, as has already been expressed, it was the interest of England to preserve intact the independence and integrity of Turkey as a check to Russian ambitions. Both England and Russia had Asiatic possessions and as such the former was vitally concerned in any progress of the latter either in South-eastern Europe or in Central Asia. To control Constantinople and the Narrow Straits and to place the Balkan states under Russian protection were, at this time, the objects aimed at by the Tsar. To these England was opposed. But Nicholas went on unheeding towards the completion of his designs by putting forward one excuse after another. He all along laboured under the delusion that England under the guidance of his pacific friend Lord Aberdeen, would never take the risk of war.

The first excuse was the dispute over the guardianship of the Holy Places in Palestine. Should it go to the Latin Church of which France was the head or to the Greek Church of which Russia was the protector ? To Abdul Medjid this was a matter of indifference. France put pressure on the Sultan for the custody of the sanctuaries. To enforce his demands, the Tsar despatched Prince Menschikoff, a fierce and rough soldier, to Constantinople (March, 1853). Menschikoff not only demanded a settlement of the quarrel about the Holy Places but also the recognition of a general Russian protectorate over the Greek Christians in the Ottoman Empire. Lord

Stratford de Redcliffe, the British ambassador in Constantinople, persuaded Menschikoff to keep the two questions separate and advised Abdul Medjid to settle the former question to the satisfaction of all parties which was done before the end of April of that year. The second demand of the Tsar's protectorate over the Christian subjects of the Porte, it was impossible to concede. It meant that "14 millions of the Sultan's subjects would regard the Tsar as their supreme protector and their allegiance to the Sultan would be little more than nominal, while the latter's independence would dwindle into vassalage." Russia wrongly based her claim on the Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji (July, 1774). That Treaty gave her a right to interfere on behalf of the worshippers of one particular Church in Constantinople and not the worshippers of the same denomination in every part of the Ottoman dominions. At the advice of Lord Stratford the Sultan repudiated the Russian claim. Menschikoff and his staff left Constantinople in May, 1853. On July 21, a Russian army occupied the Danubian Principalities as a material guarantee for the concession of the demand. This occupation was not precisely an act of war because under the Treaty of Adrianople (1829) Russia enjoyed a special position there, though the Principalities were nominally under Turkish suzerainty. England, France, Austria and Prussia then made a futile attempt to adjust the Russo-Turkish differences. But the Vienna Note (July 31, 1853) of the Powers gave Russia by implications, the right that she claimed, and in consequence, failed to get the consent of the Porte.

On Oct. 4, 1853 the Sultan demanded the evacuation of the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia within fifteen days, and on Oct. 15 formally declared war on Russia. The Turks under Omar began vigorously by attacking the Russians.

on the Danube who, on the other hand, retaliated by destroying the Turkish squadron in the exposed Bay of Sinope (Nov. 1855). The massacre of Sinope as it was termed, inflamed the British people. Britain, France and Austria then at the instance of the last Power, presented an ultimatum demanding the evacuation of the Danubian Principalities which again Russia refused (March, 1854). Austria fell back, and the two Western Powers declared war. England, France and Turkey signed treaties for military co-operation (Ap. 1854). In England the war was popular. The great majority of the British people relished the novel sensation of war which they had not experienced for forty years. To a large section of public opinion guided by Palmerston, a war against the aggressive autocracy of the Tsar was a necessity. To Louis Napoleon a war offered an opportunity for some startling military glories that would consolidate the position which he had of late unrighteously won.

The British army commanded by Lord Raglan* and the French army by Marshall Saint Arnaud arrived at Gallipoli in April 1854 at a time when the Russo-Turkish struggle was centred in the siege of Silistria. On the arrival of allied reinforcements the Russians raised the siege of Silistria and evacuated the Principalities in July. Meanwhile an allied expedition to the Baltic had failed in its purpose of striking at St. Petersburg. It was then decided to attack Sebastopol, the very heart of the Russian power in the East. With this decision began the Crimean War proper.

Lord Raglan transferred his troops to Eupatoria in the

* He was succeeded by General Simpson in June 1855. St. Arnaud the Fr. General was succeeded by General Canrobert in Sept. 1854 and he again by General Pelissier in May 1855.

north of Crimea. In the march southward to Sebastopol the allies met and defeated the Russians under Menschikoff (Sept. 1854) on the Alma. Raglan was for an immediate assault on the arsenal which however was opposed by St. Arnaud. They then reached Balaclava which had been made the base of operations and made slow preparations for the regular siege. This gave the enemy plenty of time to put Sebastopol in a posture of defence : guns were mounted, earthworks were thrown up and bombardment by sea was made difficult by sinking ships at the mouth of the harbour. The result was that the siege begun in October, proved to be a long business. Two battles at Inkerman and Balaclava marked the end of the year. Menschikoff was at large in the interior regularly receiving supplies for himself and for the besieged army. He now took the field with the express purpose of driving the enemy into the sea. Though the Russian attacks on Balaclava were repulsed, yet the allies could claim no victory. The engagement at Balaclava however is memorable in history for the magnificent charge of the Light Brigade for retaking some guns captured by the Russians (Oct. 1854). Next the Russian general tried to dislodge the enemy from the plateau of Inkerman (Nov. 5) and a fierce series of hand-to-hand fights between soldiers, ensued. It was a soldiers' battle, for the thick mist prevented any display of generalship. The allies won ; the Russians retired after a heavy loss. The allies then had to fight against Nature. A terrible storm (Nov. 14) destroying ships, clothing, blankets, provisions, fodder and medical necessaries, was followed by a severe winter. The ill-clad and ill-fed soldiers had to fight in half-frozen trenches and consequently fell ill by hundreds. The hospitals at Scutari for the sick and wounded were disorganised. Medical officers there were, but no medical stores ; sufferers there were, but no

nurses. The Tsar observed with glee that Generals January and February would do the campaigning for him.

The criminal misconduct of the war and the horrible sufferings of the soldiers were disclosed in the columns of the *Times* by their war correspondent, William Howard Russell. An outcry arose against the Ministry, and Aberdeen's Government was driven out of office (*vide ante p. 39*). Palmerston came to the head of affairs (Feby. 1855).

The exposure of the maladministration and a new Government under a strenuous and popular character, marked a change in the history of the war. Already Miss Florence Nightingale and her comrades of trained nurses had arrived in Scutari in previous November. Better transport and commissariat arrangements were made. A new ally, the king of Sardinia, entered the contest. The snows on which the Tsar depended so much, impartially affected the Russians also ; and the *Punch* very aptly remarked, General February 'turned traitor. The siege of Sebastopol was pushed on with stubborn pertinacity. An attempt on the part of the Russians to break through the besieging lines ended in a total repulse on the Tchernya in August 1855. After this allied victory in which the Sardinians played a gallant part, the Russian resistance faltered ; and finally in Sept. 1855, after standing a siege for nearly a year, the Russians evacuated Sebastopol. "It is not Sebastopol that we have left" wrote Prince Gortschakoff, "but the burning ruins of the town. With its fall we acquire freedom of movement and a new war commences". But Russian optimism did not save the situation. With the fall of Sebastopol the back of the resistance was broken. Elsewhere in Armenia the Russians however, succeeded in capturing the fortress of Kars.

Meanwhile there had been going on negotiations for peace

facilitated by the death (March 1855) of Nicholas, the real author of the war. In the negotiations Austria had been taking an active, though not an honourable, part. She had occupied the Principalities on their evacuation by Russia in the beginning of the war ; and when peace seemed within sight, she set about weaning away France from alliance and settling the Black Sea question by a separate treaty between Russia and Turkey. But Palmerston was not to be thus duped ; he made it clear to the self-constituted mediator that England wanted peace on her own terms. The Treaty arranged in Paris (March 1856) contained the following provisions :—(1) Territories occupied during the war were to be restored ; Kars to be given back to Turkey and the Crimea to Russia. (2) The Black Sea was to be neutralised : it was to be open to mercantile marine of all-nations but closed to ships of war ; neither Turkey nor Russia was to maintain arsenals on its coast. (3) The navigation of the Danube was to be free. (4) Russia was to cede Bessarabia which was to be included in Moldavia. The Principalities and Servia were to be independently administered under the suzerainty of Turkey and under the collective guarantee of the Powers. (5) Turkey was to be admitted to the public law and Concert of Europe and the independence and territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire was guaranteed by the Powers. (6) The Sultan had to grant a charter (known as Hatti-Humayun) announcing freedom of conscience and equality of treatment to all his subjects without distinction of creed or race. But these were made to depend upon the will of the Sultan who was not to be coerced in any way.

Before the Congress of Paris broke up, the plenipotentiaries agreed to certain rules of maritime international law, known as the *Declaration of Paris*. The points settled were :—(1)

Privateering was and remained abolished. (2) A blockade in order to be binding must be 'effective', and not a paper blockade. (3) A neutral flag was to cover an enemy's merchandise, except contraband of war. (4) Neutral goods carried in enemy ships could not be seized unless they were contraband of war.

Remarks on the War. Once John Bright was walking past the Crimean Monument in London with his little boy who caught sight of the solitary word, *Crimea*. On being asked what it meant, the father replied *A Crime*. Many historians hold that the war if not a crime, was at least a blunder. Salisbury said afterwards that in the Crimean War England had put her money on the wrong horse (Turkey). It cost her 24000 men in all and added £41 millions to the National Debt. Losses of France and Russia were enormous. Bourqueney the French ambassador at Vienna had this in mind when he said that there were no visible signs to show who were the conquerors and who were the vanquished.

Nevertheless England gained her object : she curbed, at least for some time, the secular ambitions of Russia in South-Eastern Europe—a fact that was fully evidenced by the clause of the Treaty of Paris. The neutralisation of the Black Sea was a terrible check to a great nation ; it was against the nature of things to forbid an empire of 74 million inhabitants to have ships of war in its own waters. Louis Napoleon insisted on this provision and it lasted nearly so long as he remained on the French throne. The fact was that the war had placed Russia, to use the words of Gortschakoff, at the Caudine Forks and the terms of the Treaty were extorted from her. From the first, she considered the settlement temporary. Headed off the Bosphorus, she spread over a wider surface and came in conflict with British interests first in Persia, then in Central

Asia and lastly, in the Far East. Instigated by Russia, the Shah of Persia laid siege to Herat belonging to the Amir of Afghanistan. Then began a war (1856-57) in which the British Government of India took part. Persia in the end withdrew all claims to Herat. The significance of the war may be gathered from the defence offered by Palmerston : "We are beginning to repel the first opening of the trenches against India by Russia".

The Sultan of Turkey, the Emperor of the French and the King of Sardinia were the three beneficiaries of the Crimean War. The Sultan was saved from Russian encroachments and was given an opportunity to set his house in order by carrying out the much-needed and often-promised reforms. But it was soon found that the Sultan's zeal for good government was in direct ratio to his anxiety for self-preservation. Relieved of the Russian peril, he went on in his old way for the next twenty years after which the question of the Near East again called for a settlement. As for Louis Napoleon he secured his position in France as the result of the War. The king of Sardinia volunteered into the war and thereby gained the sympathies of England and France which he was soon to turn to advantage and place himself at the head of a United Italy.

War with China. From the Near East and the Middle East, attention was shifted to the Far East. The *Arrow*, a lorcha or coasting schooner, lying in the Canton river, was boarded by a mandarin and his retinue, and her crew were carried off on a charge of piracy (Oct. 1856). The lorcha was owned by a Chinese and the majority of the crew were Chinese : she was commanded by an Englishman and was wrongfully flying a British flag. Harry Parkes, the British Consul at Canton, demanded the release of the crew and an apology for the arrest. Yet, the Chinese Governor of Canton, sent back the Englishman but no apology was tendered.

on the ground that the *Arrow* was a Chinese vessel.* Accordingly Sir John Bowring, the British Governor of Hong-Kong, had Canton bombarded by a fleet under Sir Michael Seymour. France co-operated with England. The Chinese suffered heavily. Lord Elgin, the British plenipotentiary, was able to conclude the Treaty of Tientsin (June 1858). It opened the Yangtse river and some more ports to foreign trade, admitted Consuls at the Treaty ports and a British Resident at Peking. Peace was delayed till the end of 1860 owing to fresh hostilities caused by the imprudence of Lord Elgin's brother who was carrying the Treaty to Peking to be ratified. In 1865, China signed with England a close alliance for defensive purposes.

Section 5.

England and Naples. Palmerston's Ministry had begun the Chinese War and terminated it in 1860. During the period however the Whigs were out of office for a short time 1858-9. In 1857 the *Cagliari*, a Sardinian vessel, had been captured by Naples on the charge of releasing some Neapolitan prisoners from the Island of Ponza. Among the crew were two English engineers who were along with others, thrown into prison. Clarendon, the Whig Foreign Secretary, left the question as a legacy to Malmesbury, the Conservative Secretary, to settle. Malmesbury, by his resolute diplomacy, obtained the release of the English engineers, a compensation of £3000 and the surrender of the vessel to England. The *Cagliari* incident was nothing as compared with the threatening attitude of France which the Foreign Secretary had to face during his fifteen months of office.

England and France. England's relations with France

* Only English vessels in Chinese waters were subject to consular jurisdiction.

were for some years after 1856, by no means so cordial as might have been expected. The delimitation of the boundaries of the Danubian Principalities after the Crimean War, had caused some bickerings with Russia ; and Palmerston, much to his exasperation, found the French Emperor supporting the pretensions of the Tsar. Soon after was made the suggestion by France of the partition of North Africa in which England was to get Egypt, France Morocco, and Sardinia Tunis. In rejecting the offer Palmerston pointed out that the Anglo-French *entente* was based on moral force for the purpose of preventing unprovoked aggressions on the part of other Powers. Then came the Orisini outrage and in its train, the indiscretions of Count Walewski and the French colonels (*vide ante*). Palmerston tried to improve the relations between the two countries by the Conspiracy to Murder Bill and in the attempt was defeated and driven out of office. This defeat of the popular ministry fully evidenced the revulsions of feelings against France. Derby assumed office (1858) with Malmesbury as Foreign Secretary who thus expressed the situation : "In giving me the Foreign office, Lord Derby has imposed a very great responsibility upon me. At present our relations with France are in a state of more than tension and it will require the utmost temper to clear away the clouds that threaten a storm." His short tenure of office did not enable him to effect anything. When Palmerston returned to power in 1859, the suspicion of France was deep and widespread, and he, though formerly a Franco-phile, shared it. Louis Napoleon was a born conspirator and dreamer and he always kept his conspiracy and dream a secret. Palmerston was now convinced of the barren futilities of an alliance with a conspirator ; nor did his country desire the continuance of the alliance. The completion (1858) of the fortifications of Cherbourg just opposite the English shores,

and the annexation of Nice and Savoy (1860) made England all the more uneasy and lent countenance to the panic of a French invasion for avenging Waterloo. Palmerston replied by fortifying the dockyards and arsenals. However the excitement died down. The signature of the Cobden Treaty of Commerce (1860) marked a fortunate change in the relations between the two countries. Moreover the Emperor of the French found enough on the Continent and elsewhere to occupy himself with. To the sensational events on the Continent and elsewhere we now turn.

The War of Italian Liberation. The War of Italian Liberation had begun, when Palmerston resumed office in 1859 with Russell at the Foreign Office. Cavour the great minister of Victor Emanuel, had secured the help of Napoleon III against Austria, and the Franco-Sardinian army won the battles of Magenta and Solferino in Lombardy against Austria. The change at Downing Street occurred at the most opportune time for the Italian cause : for the outgoing Derby Ministry was inimical to the Italian cause whereas the 'Triumvirate' (Palmerston, Russell and Gladstone) were all enthusiastic for it (p. 45). After the battles mentioned above, Napoleon III concluded the peace of Villafranca with Austria (July 1859). He had sacrificed enough men and money ; secondly, he did not like to create an Italy united, strong and independent of France ; and thirdly, he had reason to believe that unless the war was promptly terminated the forces of Prussia would soon be on the march to Paris. But Villafranca did not stop the avalanche that he had set in motion. In 1860 Tuscany, Parma, Modena and the Northern half of the Papal states expressed their will by a *plebiscite* to unite themselves with Sardinia. In the same year Garibaldi with his thousand Red-shirts, sailed with Cavour's connivance, from Genoa and taking advantage of an insurrec-

tion, made himself master of Sicily and Naples. On February 18, 1861, a Parliament representing whole Italy except Rome and Venice met at Turin. Italy was all but made. Unification was completed when in 1866 Venetia and in 1870 Rome were annexed. Cavour and Garibaldi accomplished the task well. But it was immensely facilitated by the actively friendly neutrality of England. Palmerston was very much against the Austrian domination over North Italy : "I am very Austrian north of the Alps, but very anti-Austria south of the Alps. The Austrians have no business in Italy, and they are a public nuisance there". The Premier had the support of the Foreign Secretary and the Chancellor of the Exchequer and above all, of the public opinion in England. But the Court and the rest of the Cabinet looked askance at the events in Italy. But Russell with the able help of Sir James Hudson, the English Minister at Turin, managed the crisis with admirable skill. While consenting to the cession of Nice and Savoy to Napoleon III as the price of his help, the English Foreign Secretary prevented any intervention by the European Powers in the Italian reconstruction. Under Russell's conception of non-intervention every Italian state was at liberty to interfere in any part of Italy but no external Power had any right to interfere. England thus kept the ring for Cavour and Garibaldi to work out at the chosen moment the unity and freedom of Italy. The process of unification was ratified by immense *plebiscite* majorities in the States. Russell wrote to the Continental Powers : "Her Majesty's Government must admit that the Italians are the best judges of their own interests. It is difficult to believe that the Pope and the King of the two Sicilies possessed the love of their people. Her Majesty's Government can see no sufficient reason for the severe censure with which Austria, France, Prussia and Russia have visited the acts of the king of Sardinia". One of Cavour's

most trusted lieutenants declared that this despatch of Russell was worth an army of 100,000 men ; and Russell's nephew wrote to him from Italy : "You are blessed night and morning by twenty million Italians". England won conspicuous diplomatic success by her Italian policy. Louis Napoleon who after Villafranca, strove to prevent the union of Italy, found much to his discredit and chagrin, that the union was an accomplished fact.

Mexican Expedition. A civil war was going on in Mexico between was the Republicans under Juarez and the Monarchists under Miramon. Juarez gave Napoleon III a pretext for interference by repudiating the Mexican debt to France. England and Spain joined in the expedition for enforcing payment of the debt and for protecting the persons and properties of their subjects in Mexico. But on receiving satisfaction from the Republican President, the two latter Powers withdrew in 1862 but Napoleon did not. His object was to make Archduke Maximilian, brother of the Austrian Emperor, King of Mexico ; and he succeeded for a short time in his purpose. But ultimately the forces of the Republic triumphed and shot Maximilian in June 1867. This tragedy reacted disastrously on Napoleon's position in France.

The Civil War in America, 1861-65. The Civil War arose mainly out of the desire of the Southern States of U.S.A. to dominate the politics of the whole Union as the only means by which the ultimate abolition of slavery which prevailed in the South could be avoided. The election of Abraham Lincoln as President of the Union was construed as a menace to the institution of slavery. Consequently the Southern States seceded from the Union and the Civil War ensued.

Opinion in England was divided. The leading English politicians (excepting Bright and Cobden) and the upper classes

sympathised with the slave-owning South ; and it was contended by Roebuck that the Southern States had as much right to shake off the Northern States as the original 13 States had to shake off the Mother-country in the eighteenth century and that such secession was necessary for the restoration of Balance of Power. The English Press was for the gentlemen of the South as against the traders of the North who protected their growing industries by duties on British manufactures. The working classes however, in spite of the famine caused by Lincoln's blockade (*vide ante*) were undeviatingly for the slave-abolishing North. The workmen of Manchester sent a letter of sympathy to Lincoln in the height of his struggle and the American President in reply called their action 'a piece of sublime Christian heroism'. But the British Government adhered to the policy of neutrality. "The only thing to do" Palmerston advised, "seems to be to lie on our oars, and to give no pretext to the Washingtonians to quarrel with us". But the recognition of the belligerency of the Southern Confederacy was very much resented by Lincoln to whom England appeared, and not without reason, 'Southern' in sympathies. Two incidents made the already existing estrangement very acute.

Jefferson Davis President Elect of the Southern confederacy despatched two agents, Mason and Slidel, 'to stir up' England and France to interfere on the Southern side'. The envoys successfully pierced through the blockade and at Havana, a neutral port, took ship in an English mail steamer, the *Trent*. But Capt. Wilkes of the *San Jacinto*, a Northern cruiser, intercepted the *Trent* on the high seas and carried the confederate envoys and their Secretaries, as prisoners to New York. There can be no doubt as to the illegality of this action of Capt. Wilkes. Russell drew up a peremptory despatch which, if it had been sent, would have in all probability, caused war. But happily

the Prince Consort, then on death-bed, suggested the insertion in the despatch of the belief that Wilkes' action had neither been directed nor approved by his Government. This was done. Lincoln's Government disavowed the action of Wilkes and released the prisoners (January 1862). American feeling has been well expressed in these lines of Lowell :

We give the critters back, John
'Cos Abram thought 'twas right
It warn't your bullying clack, John,
Provokin' us to fight.

The other incident was the depredation of the *Alabama*. The Southern States were badly in need of a navy. Many vessels were built in private British shipyards for them so much so that an American called Britain the naval base of the Confederacy. One of the privateers was the *Alabama* built at Birkenhead expressly for the Confederate service. While it was being built Mr. Adams the American Minister in London, made known to Russell the purpose and destination of the vessel and begged him to detain her. Partly owing to negligence and partly owing to the accident of the Queen's Advocate being ill, Russell did not move in the matter till the vessel had got to sea and begun her destructive warfare on the Northern shipping. Russell disavowed all responsibility for the doings of the commerce-raider. America put the matter aside for the moment only to take it up after the end of the war. The American Civil War not only left the inheritance of the *Alabama* claims but also a widespread hostility to Britain among the American people. In its immediate consequence the war caused the Lancashire cotton famine.

Polish Insurrection, 1863. The Tsar compulsorily enrolled more than 2000 Polish youths as recruits for the Russian army. The object of the Russian authorities, in the

words of Lord Napier, was to make a clean sweep of the revolutionary youth of Poland, to kidnap the opposition and carry it off to Siberia or to the Caucasus. This caused a revolt which was mercilessly stamped out. Russell in his despatch called it unjust and imprudent, and suggested to Prince Gortschakoff the grant of constitutional liberty to the Poles. In combination with France and Austria, remonstrances were offered but they were all unavailing. The Polish question showed that Prussia was on the side of Russia and that neither the Tsar nor Bismarck was likely to concede anything except to force. The Emperor Napoleon proposed a European Congress to consider the situation. But Palmerston had by this time grown into a profound distrust of the chameleon of the Tuilleries and would have none of it.

The Schleswig-Holstein Question. The king of Denmark was also the Duke of Schleswig and Holstein. By the Treaty of 1852 the European powers, England, France, Austria, Prussia, Russia, Sweden and Denmark, recognised the integrity of the Danish Monarchy without in any way prejudicing the rights of the Germanic confederation. The German powers claimed that the Duchies belonged to the Germanic confederation and insisted that the two Duchies should never be separated. Christian IX on accession to the Danish throne, incorporated Schleswig and granted autonomy to Holstein under Danish suzerainty (1863). Popular feeling in Germany ran strongly in favour of uniting both Duchies into one and making them German. In point of population they were far more German than Danish. There was a man who looked at the question from an entirely different viewpoint. Bismarck who had become Minister-President of Prussia in 1862, saw that the Elbe Duchies were essential to the future greatness of his country at sea. He entered into the quarrel, and

conjointly with Austria occupied them, pushing aside both the Germanic confederation and the king of Denmark.

England sympathised with Denmark first because she was a co-signatory of the treaty of 1852, secondly, because the Princess of Wales was the daughter of the Danish king. But the British Cabinet decided, Palmerston and Russell reluctantly consenting, that they would not assist Denmark by force unless France was willing to take part in the campaign. France would not remonstrate only to receive *a rebuff* (as in the Polish question) and would not go to war *for Denmark*. So Christian IX was left alone. After a brief struggle he ceded the Duchies and also paid indemnity for defending them (1864).

England did well in not going to war unassisted, for her naval and military strength was inadequate to the task. The mistake lay not in refusing to resist the assailant but in publicly encouraging the assailed. Palmerston in July 1863 had declared that in case of invasion, Prussia would have to contend not with Denmark alone; Russell had also held out similar threats which came to nothing at the time of need. England appeared, as a writer puts it, in the humiliating light of one that had barked but failed to bite. It cannot be denied that the utter desertion of Denmark left a stigma on England who lost all the prestige that she had gained through her Italian policy. This episode put an end to the Palmerstonian method of dealing with European countries.

The Polish and the Schleswig-Holstein questions laid bare the weak spot of the Whig foreign policy. It has been very well described by Derby as 'a policy of meddle and muddle, of bullying and blustering, blundering and retreating.' The Whigs desired peace but desired to secure results which only war could bring about. Little did their leaders realise that moral suasions and spiritless menaces were alike

useless in the new age of Bismarck, the age of blood and iron. The age of Palmerston, of bluffs and threats, was over. The Premier was weighed down by years ; and moreover he was restrained by the Queen and his colleagues.

Was the Queen influenced in her pacific policy towards Prussia by any private considerations ? That she should be glad at the improvement in the prospects of the Crown Princess of Prussia was natural ; that she desisted from a mad and useless war with Prussia in the interests of England is not open to doubt. It is convenient at this stage to summarise the part that the Queen played in the seven crises of her reign. In the American crisis and the Schleswig-Holstein business, she kept England out of war ; in the war of 1866 and the crisis of 1877, 'she nearly brought the country in' ; in the Luxemburg scare of 1867 and Bismarck's attempt to make a new war on France in 1875, her determination that England should not abdicate her position as a Great Power, materially helped to save Europe from Bismarck and war ; in the Franco-Prussian war, neither she nor England played any part at all.

Principles of Palmerston's policy. Palmerston's long career terminated on Oct. 18, 1865. How his death affected domestic politics has already been told. So far as foreign policy went, he was the political child of George Canning and it was characterised by three general features. He was determined to extend the influence and uphold the prestige and honour of Great Britain. This accounts for his unbounded popularity with the masses. Secondly, he sympathised with constitutional movements and championed the cause of oppressed nationalities on the Continent. In Belgium, Portugal, Spain and in Poland the same motive may be detected. Thirdly, he was a staunch upholder of the integrity and independence of Turkey as a check on the aggressive ambitions of Russia.

Palmerston's diplomatic methods were unconventional. He sometimes held out empty threats and was always unsparing in his lectures to foreign powers whom he admonished to adopt the British political system. And these admonitions were couched in brusque and trenchant language. A Conservative at home he was almost a revolutionary abroad, a disturber of the relations between subjects and their sovereigns. All these naturally caused resentment abroad ; and the continental opinion was reflected in the German saying, "If the devil had a son, he must surely be Palmerston". Whatever might have been the opinion of foreign courts, he was undoubtedly one of England's most prominent and successful ministers and had a peculiar capacity for understanding foreign politics. He was very fond of billiards and had a genius for fluking ; and his opponents maintained that this was characteristic of his statesmanship as well. At any rate they were forced to admit his political success.

Section 6.

Derby and Disraeli Ministries 1866—68. Russell after a short lease of power, resigned in June 1866 and Derby was called to office. Lord Stanley became the Foreign Secretary. The most startling event was the Seven Weeks' War (1866) as the result of which Austria within that brief period, was crushed. The hegemony of the North German States passed to Prussia ; Austria withdrew from the new arrangements of Germany. Prussian success was as swift as it was complete. Napoleon III thought of fishing in the troubled waters but was duped by Bismarck who after buying his benevolent neutrality by promise of territorial accessions like Belgium or Luxemburg, published his aggressively ambitious schemes to the world when the Austro-Prussian war was over. The

disappointed Emperor could do nothing but protest against the continued occupation of Luxemburg by Prussian troops. Luxemburg was in possession of the king of Belgium who ruled it as its Grand Duke. The presence of Prussian troops was a menace to France, Belgium and Holland. The protest of the French Emperor led to the question being submitted to a conference of the European Powers in London (May 1868). As the result, the fortifications of the city of Luxemburg were demolished and its territory was neutralised under the collective guarantee of Great Britain, France, Austria, Prussia and Russia. Stanley by his tact and firmness prevented a rupture between France and Prussia and preserved Luxemburg safe for Belgium. Though compelled to take an active part in the Luxemburg question, Stanley had throughout the Austro-Prussian struggle and the intrigues of Napoleon III, maintained a policy of resolute neutrality. The justification offered by Disraeli for the neutrality of England is more important than the policy itself. The policy of neutrality in European affairs was vindicated on the ground that 'England had outgrown the European continent ; she had become really more of an Asiatic than a European power'. Disraeli gave proof of England's extra-European interests by sending the Abyssinian expedition.

England's relations with Abyssinia dated back to 1848 and Palmerston desirous as he always was, of extending British interests, had appointed Plowden as consul at Massowah. The consul came in course of time, to be the most intimate adviser of Theodore, the negus of Abyssinia. The negus sought British help against his hostile neighbours, the Egyptians and the Turks. No help was given and Capt. Cameron the new Consul was asked by Russell not to interfere in the domestic politics of Abyssinia. In anger Theodore imprisoned the

consul and other Europeans in the fortress of Magdala. In August 1864 a mission was sent under Mr. Rassam to demand their release with the result that the envoy had to join the captives at Magdala. All negotiations for release fell through and the Abyssinian expedition under Sir Robert Napier (Commander-in-Chief at Bombay) was despatched in 1867. The invaders had no serious military opposition to encounter. Magdala was taken ; prisoners released. Theodore had died by his own hand. The expedition showed that England would not grudge any efforts to vindicate her authority and influence in all extra-European lands.

Section 7.

Gladstone's First Ministry. When Gladstone formed his Ministry in 1868 Clarendon was put in charge of the Foreign office where he was succeeded after his death in June 1870, by Lord Granville. The old Whig policy of brag and bluster was supplanted by one of general non-intervention in foreign affairs.

Franco-Prussian War. The crux of the European situation was the smouldering antagonism between France and Prussia. It is this that led to the Franco-Prussian war, to the completion of the Italian unity with Rome as capital and in a way to the repudiation of the Black Sea clause of the Treaty of 1856. By this time (1868) Napoleon's pride had been humbled and his fame tarnished by the tragic failure in Mexico and his ambitions had been frustrated by the diplomatic superiority of Bismarck. The Emperor's advisers (including his Spanish wife Eugenie) saw in a Prussian war the only way of reviving the faded glories. Convinced that war was inevitable, Bismarck determined to make France appear as the wanton aggressor and he played his cards with consummate skill. The occasion for

the Franco-Prussian war was the acceptance of the Spanish Crown by a Hohenzollern with Prussia's approval. The candidate withdrew. But this did not satisfy the French Emperor who wanted a promise of abstention from similar conduct of Prussia in future. The English Cabinet offered mediations to avert war but failed. The only result of the mediation was the impression of England that France was in the wrong. Gladstone said privately: "On the face of the facts France is wrong, but as to personal trustworthiness the two moving spirits, Napoleon and Bismarck, are on a par." So on the eve of the Franco-Prussian war the English sentiment was on the whole, on the side of Germany. But throughout the contest England preserved an attitude of correct neutrality. The anti-French feeling in England was strengthened by the opportune publication just after the declaration of the war, in the *Times* (July 25, 1870) of a draft treaty showing Napoleon's scheme of annexing Belgium. The excitement in England was considerable. Though Gladstone stood firm in the policy of neutrality he proposed a treaty to France and Germany providing that if either combatant violated Belgian neutrality, Great Britain would co-operate with the other party in its defence but without necessarily participating in the general operations of the war. The treaty was formally approved by the Powers on August 9, 1870; and shortly afterwards the terms were extended to Luxemburg.

The Franco-Prussian war was short and decisive (August 1870—January 1871). France lay prostrate. In England it caused a revulsion of generous pity for the old rival not unmixed with growing jealousy of the new power. The German Foreign Office complained that British merchants had been permitted to supply contraband of war to France. These combined to develop ill-feeling for England. "The English

are more hated at this time than the French" wrote the Crown Princess of Prussia to Queen Victoria. The French on the other hand expected that the English sympathy should take some active and practical shape. In effect England's policy of neutrality satisfied neither France nor Germany.

The Black Sea Clause. To prevent joint action by the European Powers on behalf of beaten France, Bismarck kept them engaged by secretly instigating Russia to repudiate the Black Sea clause of the Treaty of Paris of 1856; that is to say, Russia demanded that she should be allowed to keep an arsenal on the shores and a navy on the waters of the Black Sea. For the Tsar the time was opportune. England was involved in a dispute with America; France, Austria and Italy had already consented to the repudiation. So when the Russian Chancellor Prince Gortschakoff in a Circular to the Powers on Oct. 31, 1870 abrogated the clause, Lord Granville saw no option but to get out of the disagreeable business with as little loss of prestige as possible. He declared that what had been established by the Powers could only be annulled by them in concert. A conference in London formally relieved Russia of the distasteful clause (March 1871).

The Alabama Claims. It has just been mentioned that England was engaged in a dispute with U.S.A. This was the question of the damage inflicted upon American commerce by the *Alabama* and other cruisers. After the cessation of the Civil War the Washington Government began to press the question. Both Stanley and Clarendon had expressed willingness to refer it to arbitration. But the extravagant demands of the American Government had stood in its way. Ultimately in 1871 the matter was submitted to a tribunal of five persons appointed by Great Britain, U.S.A., Italy, Brazil and Switzerland. They met at Geneva in June

1872 and in September declared an award of £3 millions for damages. Gladstone paid it down at once. It was a great deal cheaper than war ; it set the valuable precedent of settling international disputes by arbitration. But public opinion in Great Britain held that the country had been unfairly treated. Though Gladstone had nothing to do with the question in its origin, it undoubtedly impaired the popularity of his Ministry.

The treaty which referred the *Alabama* claims to arbitration, is known in history as the Treaty of Washington (May 1871). That Treaty also provided for a commission to deal with the rights of Canadian and American subjects to fish on each other's coasts, and decided to refer the question of the Vancouver boundary to the arbitration of the German Emperor. It also laid down certain rules for neutrals to be observed by Great Britain and U.S.A. in future and invited other Powers to accede to them. The German Emperor decided in favour of the American claim to the small island of San Juan, near Vancouver. The Fishery question was settled afterwards.

The Ashanti Wars. England was occasionally vexed by the recurrence of troubles on the Gold Coast of Africa. In 1863 some slaves of the king of Ashantee had taken refuge in the neighbouring British territory and the British Governor of the Coast Colony not only refused to give them up but also rashly declared war on the Ashantees in response to some threatening demonstrations on the latter's part. Due chiefly to the unhealthy season, the war had to be abandoned by the British Governor. In 1871 in exchange for claims in Sumatra, some forts and factories on the Gold Coast were transferred by the Dutch to the English. The Ashantees were irritated by the imposition of customs and also by the refusal by the British to pay the stipend allowed by the Dutch to the Ashantee king. Kofi Kalkali the king, commenced hosti-

lities (1873) by attacking the Fantis who were under British protection. The experience of 1863 dictated cautions. The Ashantees must be crushed during the non-pestilential months of winter. Sir Garnet Walseley was placed in command of the expedition. Kumasi the Ashantee capital, was taken in December. Among other things the Ashantee King consented to prohibit human sacrifices. This was not the last war. In 1896 Kumasi was again occupied and its king deposed. Finally in 1900 Ashantee was annexed to Great Britain.

Section 8.

Foreign Affairs under Beaconsfield 1874-80. The chief interest of Disraeli's (created Earl of Beaconsfield in 1876) second Ministry lay in its foreign policy. Stirring events were connected during the period with South Africa and the Near East. Of these two spheres of action the latter specially attracted the attention of the Premier himself who went very near involving his country in a war with Russia. But ultimately he avoided it and attained the zenith of his diplomatic career and increasing popularity by bringing back 'peace with honour' in the Treaty of Berlin 1878. In India also his appointee Lord Lytton had to adopt a war policy in relation to Afghanistan owing to a suspicion of the Russian designs there. There was a war in South Africa which will be dealt with in its proper place.

The Eastern Question ; San Stefano and Berlin. The policy of Britain, ratified by the Treaty of Paris, had been to maintain the integrity and independence of the Turkish Empire as "the best means of warding off the European war which the clash of interests following upon its dissolution, would almost certainly have produced". While shielding Turkey from the Tsar, England and Europe laboured to save

the Christian subjects of the Porte from the constant oppression and ill-usage under which they suffered. The Porte always promised reforms but never made good its promises. Ever since 1856 revolts had broken out from time to time in different parts of the Ottoman Empire. In the summer of 1875 the oppressive action of the Turkish tax-gatherers drove the inhabitants of Bosnia and Herzegovina to revolt, not without prompting from Austria. Count Andrassy, the Austrian Chancellor, with a view to localise the conflict, induced Russia and Prussia to join in demanding (Dec. 1875) that the Sultan should establish liberty of religion in the revolted provinces and carry out other reforms which were long overdue. England co-operated with the allied Powers in the scheme of pacification. Turkey promised to carry out the Andrassy Note subject to some modifications. But the insurgents insisted on more substantial guarantees of reforms than mere empty promises. The first effort of European diplomacy proved a failure and the insurrection continued its course. The infection spread. Bulgaria broke out in revolt (Ap. 1876). Religious feeling rose also, and at the beginning of May a Mahomedan outbreak at Salonica ended in the murder of French and German consuls. France and Germany moved their Mediterranean squadrons into Turkish waters. In this situation of affairs, fresh intervention appeared necessary. So Austria, Prussia and Russia drew up what is known as Berlin Memorandum (May 1876) hoping that all the other European Powers would join. It insisted upon an immediate armistice of two months during which measures of pacification were to be arranged. Should Turkey hesitate to comply with them, force would be employed to compel her. Turkey in all probability would have accepted the Memorandum had it been pressed upon her by all the European Powers. But England did not join in the Memorandum: it was too peremp-

tory for the pacific Foreign Secretary ; it was too menacing for the pro-Turkish Premier. It was never presented to the Porte. Concert among the European Powers was for a time at an end by the action of the British Government. The Imperial Chancellors made the mistake of not inviting the British Government to join at the time of drawing up the Memorandum. In the upshot, Turkey was encouraged by what she construed as a favourable attitude of England.

The Bulgarian rising were put down with horrible atrocities in the summer of 1876. The news of the outrages sent a shudder throughout Christendom. It drew Gladstone out of his retirement. By speech and by writing he inflamed passions in his country and demanded that the Turks should be cleared out 'bag and baggage from the province which they had desolated and profaned'. With Gladstone the anti-Turkish agitation became a strong obsession. Disraeli called his opponent a designing politician taking advantage of a temporary enthusiasm to further his own sinister ends. Disraeli did indeed consider the Bulgarian massacres with a certain amount of levity.

The Bulgarian atrocities were followed by the declaration of a war by Servia and Montenegro against the Porte (June—July 1876). In Turkey palace revolutions were taking place—one Sultan following another in quick succession. In the face of the occurrences one more attempt was made to mediate peace. It was largely due to Derby that a conference met at Constantinople in Dec. 1876, to which Salisbury went as the British representative. An armistice was secured and terms were arranged settling the status of the revolting Balkan States and providing guarantees against maladministration of the Sultan. Abdul Hamid, relying on the supposed friendship of England, rejected the terms in spite of the clear warning of Salisbury that rejection would end in war. The

Russo-Turkish war began in April 1877 and continued till Feb'y, 1878. Russia wore down all opposition and appeared within striking distance of Constantinople. The Turks made peace at San Stefano (March 1878). During the war the British Government watched with anxiety the development of events and declared their policy to be one of non-intervention so long as Egypt, Suez Canal and Constantinople were not threatened. But when the Russian army after the capture of Adrianople advanced towards Constantinople a detachment of British fleet was ordered to the Sea of Marmora to protect the life and property of the British subjects (Feb. 1878). The British Chancellor of the Exchequer asked for a supplementary grant for military and naval supplies. Owing to Russian and Turkish opposition, the British fleet withdrew to Besika Bay, just outside the Dardanelles.

One of the clauses of the Treaty of San Stefano was the creation of a big Bulgaria which extended down to the Ægean Sea. The creation of such a big State in which Russian influence would predominate and which would be so near Constantinople, was especially objectionable. Lord Derby insisted that according to the existing international law of Europe no one Power could attempt to settle the Eastern Question without the consent of the other European powers and demanded that the Treaty should be submitted in its entirety to the collective revision by a European Congress. Beaconsfield asserted that this had been the keynote of British policy, the diapason of British diplomacy. Austria supported England. But Russia conceded no further than that the Powers should discuss the question at the conference but she reserved the right of accepting or not accepting the results of the discussions. Things again looked like war. Public feeling in England was again inflamed. A mob of London

jingoes broke the windows of Gladstone who was against Turkey. The streets rang with the doggerel song :

We don't want to fight, but, by Jingo, if we do,

We've got the ships, we've the men, we've got the money too.

The Cabinet decided to call out the reserves. At this, Derby, the most pacific member, resigned (March 1878) ; and his resignation removed an element of indecision from the Cabinet. His successor, Lord Salisbury, in his circular to the British representatives abroad, pointed out the blots of the Treaty. Beaconsfield summoned to Malta some 7000 Indian troops. The attitude of England impressed Europe and made for peace. A European Congress met at Berlin with Bismarck as the President to revise the Treaty of San Stefano. England was represented by Beaconsfield and Salisbury. The Treaty of Berlin was signed on July 13, 1878. The bigger Bulgaria was cut up into two parts : the northern part to be called Bulgaria, between the Danube and the Balkans, was made autonomous under Turkish suzerainty ; and the southern part to be called Eastern Roumelia was placed under a Christian Governor nominated by the Porte with the approval of the Powers. According to the Treaty of San Stefano Bosnia and Herzegovina had been made autonomous parts of the Turkish Empire ; but the Treaty of Berlin handed over these provinces to Austrian occupation. In other respects the Treaty of Berlin followed that of San Stefano. Roumania as the united Principalities had come to be called since 1859, was to cede Bessarabia in return for Dobruja and some Danubian islands. Roumania, Servia and Montenegro were to be independent. Russia retained Kars and Batoum. In general terms the Sultan guaranteed full religious liberty to his Christian subjects.

These were the terms of the Treaty of Berlin. By a secret

convention between England and Turkey, the former occupied Cyprus at an annual tribute, as a set-off against the Russian occupation of Kars and Batoum and undertook to protect by force of arms the Asiatic dominions of the Sultan who promised all the necessary reforms.

Remarks on the Treaty of Berlin. The partition of Bulgaria was the outstanding feature of the European treaty. In 1885, however, Bulgaria and East Roumelia were again united by the consent of the people of the two parts. England then acquiesced and Russia was indignant. The fact was that owing to strong national awakening the Bulgaria of 1885 was independent toward Russia whereas the 'Greater Bulgaria of San Stefano would have been a Russian province within striking distance of Constantinople'. The Treaty of Berlin did nothing for Greece. Beaconsfield however suggested that Greece being a country with a future, could afford to wait. He did not exhibit much positive benevolence towards Greece, but negatively he did. Had he not torn up the Treaty of San Stefano, Bulgaria would have obtained a commanding position with Russian leanings, and this would have made it difficult for Greece to obtain possession of Thessaly and Epirus in 1881. But in 1878 at any rate the Greeks believed that 'England was their enemy'.

Aggrandisement of Austria was another feature of the Treaty. She occupied Bosnia and Herzegovina with the duty of restoring order. The occupation proved permanent. This was the price paid by Russia for Austria's neutrality during the war. Russia got ample compensations ; in fact, she recovered all the losses of the Crimean War. She had abrogated the Black Sea clause ; she now acquired Dobruja and Kars. It was these compensations settled secretly by Beaconsfield with Russia, and not any pressure from England, that prevailed

upon the Tsar to tear up the Treaty of San Stefano. But it must not be supposed that this event healed up the old sores : in fact, the persistent hostility of Russia to England was felt for the next 30 years, in Persia, in Afghanistan, in Tibet and in China.

The Treaty of Berlin is regarded as the crown and glory of Beaconsfield's diplomacy. He was the dynamic force of the Berlin Congress. "That old Jew, that is the Man" was the remark of Bismarck. On return he declared to the cheering crowds in Whitehall that he had brought back 'Peace with Honour'. Peace there was ; but as to honour opinions differed. He forced his views on Europe in a European Congress and secured British interests. "The greatness of the British Empire with special reference to its Indian possessions was the first of those interests." The protection of the Ottoman Empire, the Premier himself avowed, was subsidiary to but necessary for the preservation of those interests. This was Beaconsfield's policy. Though selfish it succeeded and hence dazzled the popular imagination. "But in the eyes of the Liberal party and indeed of the majority of the English nation," says Bright "Lord, Beaconsfield's policy far from being accepted, was regarded as retrograde. Ignoring the complete change which the industrial and democratic growth of late years had produced, he was attempting to force England back into that position of European ascendancy which it had occupied sixty years before. With a total disregard of the increased sensibility of the public conscience, he (Beaconsfield) declared that the maintenance of English interests—irrespective apparently of the justice on which they rested—was the sole object of an English statesman".

A few remarks may be made as to the methods of the course of diplomacy ending in the triumph of the Treaty of

Berlin. Bright says, "Close secrecy and a reticence which at times fell little short of deception had marked the relation between the Cabinet and the Parliament". Beaconsfield's methods were a succession of surprises. The Chancellor's request for supplementary grant, the calling out of the reserves, the resignation of Lord Derby, and the calling up of sepoys to Malta were revelations indicating the drift towards war. The knowledge of the secret convention between England and Turkey as to the occupation of Egypt and the publication in the *Globe*, the day after the Berlin Congress met, of a secret agreement between England and Russia specifying the modifications to be adopted in the coming Congress were methods which, it was so argued, were calculated to reduce the Congress to a hollow sham, to a mere court of registration. Some of these measures and all these disclosures were denounced by the Opposition as unconstitutional and illegal, discreditable and shameless. There may be truth underlying the disclaimer but Beaconsfield's measures had the merit of being successful. Nothing succeeds like success. For the time being he was carried aloft on the wave of popular enthusiasm. Had he dissolved Parliament then, he would have gained an easy electoral victory. But he did not ; and as it happened, a year after he lost ground.

Section 9.

Foreign Policy of Gladstone's Second Ministry. The Election of 1880 turned the Conservatives out of office and brought to power Gladstone pledged by his electoral speeches to overturn the Beaconsfieldian system. Such a partisan conduct of foreign policy means discontinuity of policy and produces abroad a general impression of unreliability. Thus for example, Salisbury had agreed to French penetration in Tunis.

But when France formed an agreement with the Bey (May 1881) which placed his country under French protection, Granville the Whig Foreign Secretary, raised every objection and ultimately acquiesced in it on condition that the fort of Bizerta (in Tunis) should not be fortified. France considered this change of attitude in England as nothing less than perfidious.

Apart from electoral promises, Beaconsfield and Gladstone differed in convictions. While Beaconsfield and Salisbury tried to extend British influence abroad and to bind closer the Colonies, Gladstone desired to withdraw from all responsibilities and obligations abroad. Independence granted to the Transvaal after the humiliating defeat at Majuba was not compatible with British tradition; and the pusillanimous and indecisive conduct leading to the Gordon tragedy seriously impaired British prestige. Then again the pro-Turkish policy of his predecessors was reversed. Sir Henry Layard, the Turco-phil ambassador at Constantinople was recalled. Armed pressure was brought to bear upon the Porte to give up Dulcigno to Montenegro, and Thessaly and part of Epirus to Greece. As the influence of Great Britain in Asia Minor declined, that of Germany increased; and the lot of the Armenians and Greeks became worse and worse and finally culminated in a series of massacres between 1894 and 1897.

It was at this time that Germany began the race for Empire. Lord Derby the Colonial Secretary, was warned of Germany's designs in Africa, but he coldly replied that Germany was not a colonising power. But his convictions and anticipations were belied when Germany occupied and annexed Angra-Pequena which grew into the German South-West Africa. Great Britain recognised (June 1884) the *fait accompli* of German annexation and also of Germany being a

colonising Power. The grab for Africa developed rapidly. Soon it became necessary for the Powers to lay down rules regarding the acquisition of African territories. The Berlin Conference 1884-5 which met for that purpose, decided that there was to be freedom of navigation on the Congo and the Niger, that no occupation of African territories was to be effective unless it was backed by the presence of troops and officials of the occupying Power, and that 'spheres of influence' should be regarded as distinct from territorial acquisitions.

The popularity of Gladstone's Government for useful domestic legislation was more than offset by the discreditable character of its foreign policy especially in the Transvaal and the Sudan. The Liberals believed that peace and prosperity, unity and good government at home leading to national strength and hence political influence abroad, were the first principle of foreign policy. This accounts for the ultra-pacific character of that policy. Another cause was that a spirited foreign policy required sacrifices and expenditure which ill consorted with Gladstone's desire for economy. In a speech at West Calder (Ap. 2, 1880) Gladstone defined the right principles of foreign policy. While avoiding all foreign entanglements and obligations, he held that the Concert of Europe was the best instrument for preserving the blessings of peace which was the common and supreme object of all nations. He urged that the foreign policy of his country should always be inspired by love of freedom, sympathy with the oppressed and a respect for the equal rights of other nations.

First Salisbury Ministry. This 'interval government' had no opportunity to effect much. It declared its intention to carry out the foreign policy of its predecessor as regards Russia and the Afghan frontier (*i.e.*, the Panjdeh affairs) and in all matters where the Liberal Government had entered into

pledges or undertaken any responsibilities with foreign States. The Afghan difficulty regarding the determination of Afghanistan frontier, was settled with Russia ; and the union of East Roumelia and Bulgaria was accepted by England, though resented by Russia.

Section 10.

Lord Rosebery's Foreign Policy. When Gladstone formed his third Ministry in 1886 (Feb. to Aug.), Lord Rosebery was placed in charge of the Foreign Office. He held the same position again during Gladstone's last Administration (1892-4) and then succeeded him as the Premier (1894-5).

As the result of wide travels, Rosebery had learnt instinctively to take the view-point of a member of the British Commonwealth. Not only did he dissent from Gladstone in his imperialism but also in his anxiety to extricate the foreign policy of Britain from the factiousness of party. "My view is this" said Rosebery (1895), "that whatever our domestic differences may be at home, we should preserve a united front abroad, and that foreign statesmen and foreign courts should feel that they are dealing not with a ministry, possibly fleeting and possibly transient, but with a great, powerful and united nation."

Rosebery's first difficulty was with Greece which, jealous of the extension of Bulgaria, clamoured for some enlargement of territory at Turkey's expense but was restrained by the forcible action (May, 1886) of the British fleet from declaring war on the Porte. Thus was Europe saved from a potential Balkan war by the determination of Rosebery. Equally firm was his attitude towards Russia when the latter wanted (July 1886) to convert Batoum into a military port in violation of the Treaty of Berlin. He insisted on the sanctity of

international engagements and the Tsar abandoned the project.

At that time and for long after, the Liberal party was divided into two sections: one including Gladstone and Harcourt, who regarded the British Empire as 'a regrettable necessity to be apologised for as half-blunder, half-crime'; while the other including Rosebery and Asquith (Earl of Oxford) considered the British Empire with pride rather than with apprehensions and favoured its expansion and federation. The first incident of Rosebery's second term of office was a dispute between these two sections over the retention or non-retention of Uganda. Rosebery carried his point and in 1893 it was decided to retain Uganda and in July 1894 the British protectorate over that country was declared. The Khedive of Egypt recalling Gladstone's words about the temporary nature of British occupation, attempted to throw off the control of Whitehall and as a preliminary and feeler, dismissed his Prime Minister. The Foreign Secretary reminded the Khedive of his obligation to consult the British Government in all important matters and made it clear that the British position in Egypt would not be abandoned (Jany. 1893). This conduct was considered high-handed by France. The fact was that France, excluded from Egypt by her own action in 1882, was ever ready to throw obstacles in the way of Great Britain not only in Egypt but all the world over.

Between French Indo-China and British Burma is Siam. France had certain boundary grievances against the Government of Bangkok, and in July 1893 French ships blockaded the Siamese capital. Rosebery ordered that the British gunboat (the *Linnet*) was to remain there in order to protect British subjects from the unruly Oriental population, and at the same time advised the Siamese to settle with their adversary.

quickly. The negotiations between London and Paris over the Siam question were brought to a close by Salisbury in 1896 whereby, to avoid contact of British and French territories, Siam was erected into a buffer State with well-defined boundaries.

Lord Rosebery during his terms of office wiped off alike by his conduct and actions, the bad tradition that Liberal foreign policy lacked resolution.

Section 11.

Salisbury's Foreign Policy. When Salisbury formed his second Administration in Aug. 1886, the seals of the Foreign Office were given to Earl of Iddesleigh who however resigned in favour of the Premier in December of the same year. During the last Ministry (1895-1902) the Premier also assumed the functions of the Foreign Office till 1900 when it was transferred to the Marquis of Lansdowne.

(a) *Africa* :—Africa was the plague of the Foreign Office. The British occupation of Egypt was a constant irritant to France, and the vast British possessions in that dark continent were an eyesore to the European Powers, especially Germany and France. There had arisen from the eighties, rather suddenly, a desire to colonise the continent of Africa. The Powers of Europe eagerly threw themselves into the scramble for territories not only in Africa but also in Asia—an event known in history as Expansion of Europe. The Berlin Conference of 1884-5, referred to above, merely intensified the grab in Africa. Frictions among the Powers, especially Britain, France and Germany, became frequent. Salisbury exercised the greatest forbearance and patience in coming to settlements regarding the occupation of African territories. Often he pressed diplomatic methods to their farthest limits to

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avoid colonial complications ; but in all these transactions he never lost sight of British interests. Thus for example, he brushed aside Portuguese claims to Mashonaland and Metabeleland and established British claims to South Africa up to the river Zambesi (Aug. 1887). Similarly German attempt to control the Upper Nile was defeated by Salisbury who was substantially helped by the efforts of the merchant* William Mackinnon and the explorer Henry Stanley. The year 1890 practically saw the end of these African territorial disputes by the conclusion of agreements with Germany and France. The Anglo-German agreement (July 1890) limited the spheres of interest of the contending Powers and delimited German East Africa and German South-West Africa ; Great Britain secured from the Germans the protectorate of Zanzibar, Uganda and the Upper Nile in return for the cession of Heligoland, off the German coast. Germany was also established in Togoland and the Cameroons. The Anglo-French agreement of August 1890 recognised French protectorate in Madagascar in return for the British position in Zanzibar ; it excluded France from the Hansa States and Bornu leaving to her the Sahara desert—'light soil in which the Gallic cock might scratch'. In June 1898 another convention settled Anglo-French disputes regarding West-African territories. But the trouble was by no means over. Immediately after the battle of Omdurman (Sept. 1898) resulting in the recovery of the Sudan (*vide infra*), Lord Kitchener was informed of the arrival of the French General Major Marchand at Fashoda (now called Kodok) with an escort of 100 Senegalese troops. He had

*Merchants were of great service to statesmen, for England had revived in Africa the ancient and cheap method of acquiring territories through mercantile companies by granting them charters.

marched from the French Congo across the heart of Africa. The object was to carve out a strip of French territory across Africa from the French Congo to the Red Sea. To control the Upper Nile was to control the source of Egypt's fertility. Moreover recently the British had conquered the Sudan which included Fashoda. Salisbury absolutely repudiated the French right to occupy Fashoda and he had the support of his country. After six weeks of prevarications France evacuated the place on the ground that its occupation was of no sort of value to the French Republic. The Fashoda affair marked the zenith of Salisbury's diplomatic career. He "settled one colonial dispute after another to the advantage of Great Britain without having recourse to the arbitrament of war ; but his diplomacy broke on the rock of Dutch (Boer) obstinacy". The Second Boer War will elsewhere be narrated in full. The partition of Africa is the outstanding achievement of Salisbury's career. Between him and Rosebery the two statesmen during 1884-98, "brought into Britain's sphere of direct influence just over two million six hundred thousand square miles of the earth's surface. Forty-five million more individuals came under British rule".

(b) *The Far East* :—It was not in Africa alone that Europe was expanding, but also in the Far East. It was at the expense of China that much European expansion in the Far East was achieved. In 1894 China declared war upon Japan for the latter's attack on Korea. The Chino-Japanese War brought the European Powers upon the scene for the object of saving the integrity of the Chinese Empire. That done, the benevolent Powers demanded reward. Germany obtained lease of Kiao-Chow in 1898, Russia of Port Arthur in 1899 and England Wei-hei-Wei. The intrusion of Western influences in China led in 1899 to a national uprising led by the Boxers who attacked and besieged the foreign legations at Peking. Admiral

Seymour's attempt to enter into Peking failed. England then concerted plans with the other Powers for relieving the legations and with the help of Japan the purpose was accomplished and peace restored in 1901. This laid the foundation of the good relations between Great Britain and Japan eventuating in the first of the series of treaties between the two Powers in 1902 concluded by Lansdowne.

(c) *Europe*.—We now pass on to the Continent of Europe. Apprehensive of Russia, Austria had concluded a Dual Alliance with Germany in Oct. 1897. France assured of England's complaisance, established in 1881 a protectorate over Tunis which Italy had been considering as the last door open to her for expansion. Thus foiled by and afraid of France, Italy joined Germany and the Dual became the Triple alliance in 1883. Germany was quite friendly with Russia; England held aloof from European complications; hence, France was left alone. In fact it was the policy of Bismarck to keep France in quarantine. But the interest of Russia and Austria clashed too decisively in the Balkans to allow the former to remain on the side of the Triple Alliance. In 1879 a Dual alliance between France and Russia was concluded. With the exception of England, the European Powers were thus divided into two groups whose relations, if not actually hostile, were watchfully suspicious. Salisbury, if necessary, would have preferred the Triple to the Dual Alliance, for the Central Asian policy of Russia and the African policy of France had strained their relations with Great Britain. But the Foreign Secretary chose to keep his country free from any European alliance thinking that in case of crisis, the influence of Great Britain would be exercised with greater effect on the side of justice. During 1894-97 a series of massacres of Armenians in Asia Minor and Constantinople, was committed by the Turkish government.

Some 100,000 Armenians were killed. Gladstone roused England and urged upon the country to take, if necessary, isolated and independent action on behalf of Armenia. Salisbury refused to respond to this fervent appeal, though he held that formerly his country had put money on the wrong horse in regard to the Turks. Even Russia abandoned her former hostility to Turkey. For the first time the Sultan could do as he chose unharmed in the presence of six Powers who were hampered by cross pledges and deep distrust. An opportunity however soon presented itself to Salisbury for showing his anti-Turkish proclivities. The Cretans wanted to transfer their allegiance from Turkey to Greece and rose in revolt (Feb. 1897). In spite of help from Greece, the Turks led by Edhem Pasha suppressed the insurrection speedily and cruelly. At this stage Russia, France and Italy, led by England, intervened and saved Greece and Crete from further humiliations. An autonomous government was set up in the island with Prince George of Greece as High Commissioner.

Meanwhile the conduct of Germany raised alarm. She had been increasing navy and army immensely for some time past. When Nicholas II proposed, in the interest of peace, the reduction of excessive armaments, the Hague Conference was summoned (May 1899) to discuss the question as a whole. M. de Staal, the Russian ambassador in London, was the President. The questions of military disarmament, of international arbitration and of the observance of certain principles of humanity in war, formed the subjects of discussion. Germany attended the Conference but refused to curtail the military establishments which, she opined, she had enough money to bear. All that the Conference did was to establish a permanent Court of Arbitration and to declare that the limitation of military charges was to be greatly desired. Fur-

ther Germany stood as the protector of the Moslem peoples and were actively helping the Sultan in his military organisation. Germany's preparations bore fruit in the twentieth century. Salisbury adhered to his policy of isolation from continental politics. The cessation of the Boer War, the accession of Edward VII and the administration of Balfour and Lansdowne brought about a change of policy. In other words, with the dawn of the twentieth century England abandoned her policy of splendid isolation and adopted one of agreements and understandings.

(d) *America* :—For once during the administration of Salisbury England's relation with U.S.A. was so far strained as to threaten a war. The question was that of fixing the boundary between British Guiana and Venezuela. President Grover Cleveland claimed (1895) a direct interest in the boundary dispute and demanded that the whole question should be submitted to a Commission appointed by the American Congress. President Monroe had in 1823 declared that any intrusion after that date, by any European Power into any portion of America would be considered unfriendly. British Guiana being an existing colony, the Monroe doctrine did not apply to it. Hence the unjustifiable assertion of the Monroe doctrine by President Cleveland accompanied with a peremptory demand to refer the whole boundary question to a Commission whose findings, the President asserted, would be imposed upon Great Britain by all the resources of the U.S.A., brought the two English-speaking peoples to the verge of war. Salisbury declined to submit the whole dispute to arbitration, but agreed to it for certain doubtful territory. The American Boundary Commission had been appointed, but the English Premier considered it a private body. When the first exuberance of jingoism

subsided, a joint Anglo-American Commission was appointed with a Russian Chairman, Prof. De Martens (Feby. 1897). In 1899 it delivered its verdict which was on the whole favourable to British claims. Meanwhile the Anglo-American relations had immensely improved since 1898 when Salisbury's firm attitude had prevented the formation of an anti-American coalition in favour of Spain which had been deprived by U. S. A. of the island of Cuba for mis-government.

CHAPTER III.

IRELAND.

The Irish Problem. To Ireland is relegated a large space in a history of the reign of Queen Victoria. Ministries came and ministries went, but the Irish problem confronted them impartially. But what was the Irish problem? Disraeli once summed up the Irish problem as being that of a starving people, alien church and an absentee aristocracy. The Irish grievances were partly agrarian, partly political, and partly religious. The holding of an Irish cottier was small, his rent exorbitant, his tenure precarious. His landlord almost certainly an English Protestant, cared very little for his improvement and was almost invariably an absentee. Politically an improvement in the position of Ireland was effected in 1829: the Catholics were emancipated and allowed to sit in the Parliament. But

in the eighteen-thirties when our period begins the Irish agitation was raging round an alien church—the Tithe.

How the Melbourne Government dealt with it. In the thirties the population of Ireland was 8 millions, of whom 6 millions were Catholics and only one-tenth was Protestant Episcopalians. "The Church of the 800,000 Protestant Episcopalians was established and endowed; the Church of the 600,000 Presbyterians was endowed but not established; the Church of the 6,000,000 Catholics was neither established nor endowed." And the Irish peasant had to pay one-tenth of the produce of his land for the maintenance of a wealthy, heretical and alien church. It was a mark of foreign ascendancy; it was a drain on his scanty purse; it was a sear on his sensitive conscience. No wonder that there was a tithe war and its collection cost a million lives. A strong force of police was necessary to seize the goods or cattle of a defaulter, but no purchaser could be found when they were put up to auction. Both the parties in Parliament were in favour of changing or commuting the Tithe into a rent charge, but the Whigs to appease the Irish party on whose support they relied for maintaining themselves in power, added an appropriation clause by which it was proposed that the surplus remaining after providing for the Established Church should be applied locally for the education of children of all denominations. But the Government had to drop the appropriation clause, and in 1838 passed the *Tithe Commutation Act* by which tithes were converted into a fixed rent-charge at the rate of 75 per cent of the original amount, leaving the surplus for the benefit of the Established Church. It was a half-hearted measure transferring the burden of the tithes from the tenant to the landlord but not preventing landlord from getting his own back from the tenant by raising the rent. The same session witnessed the

passing of an *Irish Poor Law*. By it Ireland was divided into *unions*, each union was to be administered by a Board of Guardians consisting partly of *ex-officio* and partly of elected members; workhouses were to be erected; no outdoor relief was to be given; indoor relief was to be given only to the destitute. The Act was very unpopular in Ireland owing to the violent aversion of the Irish to go to the workhouse. But it passed both the Houses in England, inspite of the violent opposition of O'Connell and his party. Another act which the Melbourne government passed for Ireland was the *Irish Municipal Act of 1840*. The Whigs had to fight hard on this question and after the failure of two attempts, they ultimately passed the Act in 1840 by accepting all the modifications made by the Lords. Under its provisions 58 Corporations were abolished and ten were reconstituted on a basis of ten-pound franchise, instead of £5 as originally proposed by the Government. Thus the Acts of the Melbourne Ministry were ineffectual concessions which satisfied neither the Irish party in Parliament nor the Irish people. The utility of these Acts had no doubt been much impaired by the modifications introduced at the dictation of the Opposition. But the actual administration of the country had been placed in sympathetic hands. Lord Morpeth was the Chief Secretary and Thomas Drummond was the permanent Under Secretary whose tenure of office has become famous in Irish history. He strove to keep the balance between parties and seats to develop the industrial resources of the country, to establish respect for law and to rule Ireland without exceptional powers. The landlords complained that the administration was in league with the tenants to rob them of their property—a complaint that drew support from Drummond's remark that has ever since become famous—'Property has its duties as well as its rights'.

It cannot be asserted that he succeeded in restoring social order or in suppressing crime. But he did all that a man could do. Worn out with labours he died in 1840.

The Whigs had to meet incessant attacks on their Irish policy. The policy was lenient enough, so it was thought, to invite attacks from the political opponents but not lenient and conciliatory enough to pacify Ireland. Moreover rumour was afloat that the Government to secure majority had come to a compact with O'Connell and his party. "Compact there was none, so said Russell, but an alliance on honourable terms of mutual co-operation, there undoubtedly existed." The Lords showed their discontent by carrying a motion against the Government for a select Committee to enquire into the state of Ireland. The Government answered it by passing in the House of Commons a vote of confidence. Actual discomfiture was averted, but the Melbourne Ministry was coming to the end of its tether.

Peel and O'Connell—The Election of 1840 proved disastrous to the Whigs. It also shattered O'Connell's party. The Irish leader could expect little from a Parliament manned by a Conservative majority under Peel. The young Ireland movement was just beginning and unless he wished to lose the lead, he must put forward another programme. So in 1843 O'Connell declared that this was to be the great repeal year. He went about the country addressing monster meetings and the repeal 'rent'—voluntary tax paid by the peasantry to sustain the agitation—was collected in large amounts. The Government passed an *Arms Act* regulating the use and sale of arms, and sent troops to Ireland, and repaired barracks and forts; prohibited a meeting which was to have been held at Clontarf on October 8, 1843. O'Connell instantly obeyed; no meeting was held; no disorder was created. But the

leader lost in a day the confidence of the people. The Government at once had him arrested and tried. After a prolonged trial with the help of a packed jury, the leader was sentenced to a heavy fine and one year's imprisonment (May 1844). The Lords afterwards on appeal, released O'Connell. But he came out of the jail a broken man: his prestige had diminished, his authority had passed on to the extremists. He survived it three years more. On May 15, 1847, he died at Genoa while on his way to Rome. Thus passed away the Irish patriot in grief and despair. Born in 1775, he had his first education at a hedge school and afterwards at the Catholic Seminary at St. Omer. Then he joined the Bar. Versed in law and expert in cross-examination, he flourished at the Bar. For every political trial he was engaged. He gave up an extensive practice and dedicated himself to the service of his country. In the controversy of the time he was known as the 'Big Beggarman.' His influence on his country was unbounded. His self-sacrifice and powerful oratory contributed to his popularity. His massive physique, his rich voice, his impassioned eloquence and his shrewd insight into the Irish character enabled him to make his audience laugh and weep alternately.

Peel's Irish Policy ; Famine.—Peel had suppressed Irish disaffection and was free to revert to his conciliatory policy. What was his Irish policy? It was to maintain the Union at all cost and to preserve the peace in the country but to remove the grievances as he saw them. One of them was the backward state of higher education. In 1845 Ireland had two colleges, at Maynooth and at Dublin. The former was a seminary for the training of the Roman Catholic clergy; and at Dublin the Catholics might study but not hold scholarships or professorships. Maynooth suffered from lack of

funds, so Peel trebled the annual grant, from £8000 to £26,000 and gave a non-recurring grant of £30,000 for buildings. It raised a storm of bigotry ; but the Premier succeeded in carrying it out, and sending his message of peace to the country. It effected a marked improvement in the position of the Irish priesthood but it did not diminish their hostility to England. The same year, witnessed the establishment of three Queen's Colleges at Cork, Galway and Belfast to impart unsectarian education. These "godless" colleges were distasteful to the Protestants and Catholics alike.

But the real grievance was the land. The old native system of Ireland recognised the tenant as owning the land equally with the landlord. The introduction of English landlordism converted the occupiers into tenants-at-will. Undue enhancement of rent and arbitrary eviction of tenants came to be the prevailing evils. In Ulster only the tenant could not be evicted so long as he paid the customary rent. If he gave up his land, he received compensation for improvements, and he had the right of transferring his farm to another on payment of a reasonable fine. In 1843 Peel appointed a commission under the presidency of Lord Devon to enquire into the occupancy of land. It reported in 1845 and pointed out all the above evils. On the strength of the Report Lord Stanley (Secretary for Colonies) introduced in the Lords a Bill giving compensation to out-going tenants for unexhausted improvements ; but it had to be withdrawn on account of the opposition to it. Irish reform had to wait for a more favourable season.

Meanwhile disaster hung over the country. In 1845 a disease affected the potato crop in Ireland where $\frac{2}{3}$ ths of the people depended on it for life. To deal with the consequent scarcity of food, Indian corn was imported and sold at a

penny a pound. In 1846 the potato crop failed. Famine broke out and with famine came pestilence, crime and ruin. The first duty of the Government was to save the Irish peasantry from death by starvation. This, as we have seen, hastened the repeal of the Corn Laws and Peel considered it as a remedy for Irish famine. But Ireland had no money to buy corn imported from abroad. In 1845 though the potato crop had failed, yet the harvest had been good in other respects, and in that year over three million quarters of cereals had been exported from Ireland—enough to feed the peasantry for more than six months. Had the Government prohibited this exportation of food from the country much suffering in 1846 would have been avoided. As it was, the Irish distress was awful. Famine and crime stalked hand in hand throughout the country. To deal with the situation Peel brought in *Life Preservation Bill*; but being defeated he resigned (*ante*, pp. 22, 27).

Russell and the Irish Famine. The Whigs under Lord Russell came to power. Peel had started relief by public works. Multitudes of starving men were employed in making roads or levelling hills. "The roads which it was decided to make, were blocked by the labourers employed upon them, and by the stones which the labourers were supposed to crush for their repair". Peasants were drawn away from their fields to public relief works; agriculture came to a standstill; the Government had no means to control such a vast amount of labour. In 1847 Russell abandoned this device of giving relief and substituted in its place distribution of food. Relief Committees were instituted and funds were formed out of local rates and government loans. This method of feeding the starving people proved more successful than the first. More than 3 millions were in receipt of rations. In

1847 also the Irish Poor Law was amended and outdoor relief was legalised. By the autumn of 1847 the worst was over and after the winter of 1847-48 the famine was at an end. The famine was far-reaching in its consequences but some of its immediate results may be noted. It reduced the population of Ireland by nearly 2 millions, over half a million had died of hunger and pestilence and the rest had emigrated to America. Seventeen per cent of the emigrants died on the voyage. The economic exodus, thus begun, went on ; by 1851 the population of Ireland was reduced by 2 millions ; in 1901 it was less than half of what it had been in 1841 (8,175,124). The emigration was not merely due to famine but to large evictions also. As a matter of fact, the starving millions were not helped by the Government to emigrate but were thrust forth from their houses. By a clause of the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1847 no one holding more than a quarter of an acre of land was eligible for famine relief till he had given up his holding. Left to choose between starvation and surrender of land, millions naturally chose the latter. Moreover the landlords evicted many for non-payment of rents which could not possibly have been paid. Further new landlords had come to possess land as the result of *Encumbered Estates Act* (1849). The famine had ruined nearly a third of the landlords who were traditionally improvident. The Act facilitated the sale of deeply mortgaged estates by the landlords to solvent purchasers. It was meant to encourage peasants to buy land. But they had no money. Between 1849-1857, no less than 7,489 new proprietors came to own lands in Ireland. These new landlords regarded their purchase as a commercial speculation and were governed by economic considerations. Rents were raised, and the defaulters were evicted. The Act thus, accentuated a difficulty it was intended to mitigate—it *

led to evictions and emigrations. These emigrants carried with them intense hatred against the government that had turned them out of their native land. From the famine, says Gwynn, dates the beginning of Ireland's influence as a force in world-politics, directed always against the British Empire.

• Crime dogged the footsteps of the famine with fatal precision. Homicide increased ; thefts of arms became common. At the end of 1847 a Coercion Act was passed by which the Lord Lieutenant was authorised to proclaim "any disturbed districts, and in such districts to require licences for the carrying of arms and to increase the police force at the cost of the locality." Crime declined, and the famine was also over. But a fresh trouble broke out.

The Irish '48. As the influence of O'Connell had decreased, that of the Young Ireland increased. The new party was nationalistic ; it taught the people to rely on their own power ; it advocated physical force and as such differed from the O'Connellites. Its leader Smith O'Brien, a well-born visionary, gathered a band of young enthusiasts, Meagher, Mitchel and Gavan Duffy. But his teachings and methods were too mild for the wild spirits like Meagher and Mitchel who founded the paper *United Irishman* and clamoured for open revolution and an Irish republic. The year 1848 was a year of revolutions and Ireland could not escape the infection. Smith O'Brien was carried away into accepting the possibility of success by an open revolt. In July '48 he gathered together a few and half-starved half-armed peasants who attacked a small body of police, and the fight that followed is known as 'Battle of Widow M'Cormack's potato patch' ; the peasants dispersed ; no harm was done to anybody except to the potatoes. A few days after O'Brien was arrested and

sentenced to death. The sentence was later commuted to transportation for life; Meagher shared his fate. Other measures had also been taken. Many towns (including Dublin and Cork) had been proclaimed; the Habeas Corpus Act had been suspended; and a vast quantity of arms had been seized. Thus the Irish '48 was nipped in the bud. The insurrection was a sort of farce and it was killed as much by ridicule as by coercion. The whole group of youngmen including the honourable gentleman who had been their leader in revolt, were either transported convicts or voluntary fugitives from their country. For nearly 20 years Ireland was sunk in exhaustion and despair—exhaustion due to famine and emigration, and despair due to futility of force.

Fenianism ; its development and activities. The Irish question revived in the sixties, and the revival was due to the activities of the new Ireland that had grown up in America. By 1861 the emigrants to America had increased to more than two millions. There too had taken refuge the survivors of '48. They were all bound together by their common hatred for England. They looked tenderly back across the Atlantic to their homes out of which they had been turned by the stern step-mother. Between 1848-64 the Irish Americans had sent home no less than 13 million pounds sterling to their relatives to enable them to emigrate to U.S.A. They still clung to the hope of freeing their country and formed secret societies for that purpose. The most important of these was Irish Republican Brotherhood (I.R.B.) known as the Fenian Organisation, founded in America as early as 1858 by John O'Mahony and James Stephens, both exiles of '48. Many Fenians had gained military experience and distinction in the American Civil War (*vide infra*). The war embittered the relations between England and America; and when after its close in

1865, the Fenians utilised their military experience in gaining freedom for Ireland, the Americans looked on with indifferent satisfaction. When for instance the Fenians invaded Canada in May 1866, the Washington government observed strict neutrality. The raiders were repulsed and six leaders were captured and shot.

The word Fenian is derived from *Fianna* who were the retainers of the legendary heroes of Ireland. Fenianism was a well-organised movement; each member knew well only his immediate superior in the hierarchy; secrecy was maintained and obedience was implicit. It did not get any support from the Catholic priest-hood in Ireland; neither did it have any strong hold on the peasantry. It was not agrarian; it was democratic; it drew recruits largely from mechanics and shop assistants. Though not directly connected with the Irish political grievances, it was a symptom of that vague but deeply rooted unrest caused by the many injustices and wrongs which generations of Englishmen had inflicted upon a helpless people. The object of the movement was to establish an independent Irish republic. In Ireland the chief direction of the conspiracy was entrusted to James Stephens who came there in 1865. Already in 1863 the Irish people had started propagating Fenianism in Ireland. Before there was any overt insurrection, the Dublin Castle successfully tackled the situation. The Dublin police seized (Sept. 1865) the staff of the *Irish People* including its proprietor Donovan Rossa, and suppressed the paper. Shortly afterwards James Stephens the head-centre, was tracked down and arrested. He however escaped from jail. Rossa and his associates were sentenced to long terms of penal servitude. But many leaders were still abroad; Fenian agents were recruiting members; factories of pikes and bullets were discovered; attempts to tamper with the soldiery were

reported. Lord Wodehouse, the Lord Lieutenant and Lord Chancellor Brady demanded exceptional powers. In February 1866 the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended by the Parliament. In 1867 there was an attempt at insurrection at Kerry ; and there were sporadic outbreaks in other parts of Ireland. But the government kept a close watch. Some 300 Fenians were arrested and put on trial. In Ireland, Fenianism was scotched, if not killed. But it was carried to England itself, and several Fenian outrages took place in 1867. An attempt was planned by the Fenians, to seize the large stores of arms and ammunition in Chester Castle which was weakly guarded. The plan broke down (February) but the revelation of the plot disturbed English security. At Manchester, two Fenian prisoners were being driven in a van when they were rescued in broad day-light, after the sergeant in charge of the van had been shot dead (July). Several of the rescuing party were captured ; five were sentenced to death. The trial evoked keen excitement ; the youth and courage of the persons invested it with a certain romantic interest and they came to be called 'Manchester martyrs'. To liberate certain Fenian prisoners a part of the Clerkenwell Jail was blown down (December), thereby killing some and injuring many men in the streets, and shattering many houses as well.

The New Angle of Vision ; Gladstone's Irish Reforms 1868-74. The outrages of 1867 produced an attitude of attention and preparedness on the part of Englishmen with regard to Ireland. They furnished food for reflection to a generation which had just acquired household suffrage. By the Reform Act of 1867 power had passed into the hands of the Demos and to them there was something repellent in the system of governing Ireland in opposition to the will of the majority of its inhabitants. The conscience of the English

nation was, as it were, touched and a strong desire was manifested to break with the bad traditions of the past. And in Gladstone they found a sympathetic exponent of this desire to act justly towards Ireland. On being summoned to power in 1868 he is reported to have said, "My mission is to pacify Ireland". According to him Ireland was overshadowed by the three branches of a upas tree—an alien church, the land laws, and the lack of education; and he proceeded to deal with these grievances. But Gladstone repudiated the notions that Fenianism had influenced his convictions on the Irish problem. Anglicans formed only $\frac{1}{10}$ th of the Irish people. For this fraction the Church had been established and richly endowed. During the first Disraeli Ministry Gladstone moved in March 1868 three resolutions :—(a) That the Established Church of Ireland should cease to exist as an establishment; (b) That pending final decision of Parliament, the creation of new personal interests by the exercise of any public patronage, should be suspended in Ireland; (c) That the Queen be humbly prayed to place at the disposal of Parliament her interest in the Temporalities in Archbishoprics, Bishoprics and other dignities in Ireland. The Queen assented to the third point. The Conservative government proposed to reserve the discussions for a new Parliament elected under the new Act of 1867. But Gladstone would have none of it. Disraeli wanted to resign or to dissolve the Parliament. The latter alternative was preferred. The country spoke unequivocally in favour of Gladstone. In March 1869 the new Premier unfolded to the House his scheme for the disestablishment and partial disendowment of the Established Church in Ireland. It passed the Lower House by a large majority (May 31). In the Upper House the real battle began. The Premier irritated the Lords by calling them 'men who must have been living in a balloon.' The opposition

in the Lords came from Dr. Tait the Primate, Dr. Magee the Bishop of Peterborough and Lord Derby. Lord Derby argued that Royal assent to the Bill would involve the violation of the Queen's Coronation Oath ; others argued that the Bill would exasperate the Protestants without pacifying Ireland. The Queen though expressing her objection to the Bill counselled conciliation to the Lords especially as the country had declared in favour of the Bill in the late election. The Bill was amended in favour of a larger retention of the surplus fund, and then returned to the Commons. Gladstone agreed to give the Established Church some, not all, of the concessions proposed by the Lords. But the Lords did not agree at all. Through the mediation of the Queen and Lord Granville a constitutional crisis was avoided. The Lords passed the Irish Church Disestablishment Bill and the Queen gave her assent (July, 1869).

(a) The tie between the Protestant and the Episcopal Church and the government was to be severed, from January 1871, and the Church was to be a self-governing corporation. (b) Of the total value of the Church property amounting to about £16 million pounds sterling more than 8½ millions was to be given to the new self-governing corporation and the remainder to be devoted to the relief of unavoidable calamity and suffering, not touched by the Poor Law, but spent in such a manner as Parliament should hereafter direct. (c) Ecclesiastical Court in Ireland were to be abolished, and ecclesiastic laws were no longer to be binding. (d) The Bishops of that Church in Ireland were no longer to sit in the Lords. (e) The Tithe Rent Charge was to be purchased by the landlords under an ingenious arrangement which provided for the extinction of the charge in 46 years. The Protestant Church in Ireland suffered nothing by the change. On the contrary it gained by being freed from political influences ; it lost its aggressiveness ; it became,

more than ever it had been, the home of piety and learning and in the devotion of its members it found ample compensation for its loss of material wealth. The Act marks, so far as Ireland went, a distinct step in advance. It was the first expression of the new political ideal of governing Ireland in accordance with Irish ideas. It removed the chief symbol of Protestant ascendancy; it recognised that, though England was, Ireland was not, a Protestant nation. The Union between England and Ireland ceased to be a Protestant Union. A breach was made in the citadel; the Act of Union was no longer to have any sacrosanct character. But in its immediate object as a measure of pacification, it failed; it proved to be prelude to an agrarian agitation which convulsed Ireland for a quarter of a century.

More important than disestablishment was the Land Act of 1870. The Report of 1845 of the Devon Commission brought home to English mind the difficulties of the agrarian problem in Ireland. The tenant according to the tradition of his country, claimed possessory rights which were however denied to him (*vide supra*). He could not do without land; he had no capital and in the absence of manufactures or large towns, he had to obtain land or emigrate or starve. The land system has already been described, it has also been shown how the Encumbered Estates Act of 1849 by introducing a new race of commercial landlords, made the land question more acute. In 1860 the Chief Secretary, Cardwell, introduced a land measure which founded the relation between landlord and tenant on the contract of the parties and not upon tenure or service. His act was a dead failure, it did nothing but embitter, the relations of owner and occupier. Gladstone's Land Act of 1870 was conceived on entirely different lines. Much of its credit goes however to the new

Irish Secretary, Chichester Fortescue. The Act provided that in case of unjust and wanton eviction the out-going tenant was to receive compensation for disturbance and unexhausted improvements in soil, that, wherever possible, the Ulster custom of tenant right should be recognised as law and, lastly, that loans should be granted to tenants to enable them to purchase the holdings in their occupation from the landlords. But the Act allowed the landlords to contract out of its provisions in case of holdings worth more than £50 year. The policy of the Act, as Gladstone explained, was to prevent the landlord from using the terrible weapon of unjust eviction by so framing the handle that it should cut his hands with the sharp edge of pecuniary damage and it was expected that this pecuniary damage or compensation would also deter him from arbitrary enhancement of rent. But in point of fact the Act did not give the tenant either security against arbitrary raising of rent or fixity of tenure. The purchase clause suggested by Bright, was clogged with so many complicated conditions that it was practically inoperative. Thus the Act did not extinguish the evils which were admitted by all to exist and which it was expected to deal with. Nevertheless the Land Act of 1870 was a courageous effort in constructive legislation; it gave legal recognition to the Ulster custom and sought to extend it; it interfered with the landlord's right of disposing of his land on the absolute basis of free contract.

But the Act did not allay Irish agitation, or did not stop agrarian outrages. As a matter of fact before the Land Bill emerged from the Committee Stage, the Peace Preservation Act had been passed (1870). It forbade the use of fire-arms in any district proclaimed by the Lord Lieutenant, required licences for possession of arms, gave the police powers to search dwelling houses for arms or for evidence a sto threaten-

ing letters and to arrest on suspicion persons found wandering about at night, increased the summary jurisdiction of magistrate, provided for levying district compensation in cases of agrarian murder, empowered the executive to suppress any newspaper guilty of intimidation and lastly, authorised a change of venue in trials where the interests of justice or impediments of local prejudice, demanded it. The same year Gladstone thought of tempering justice with mercy and granted amnesty to many Fenian prisoners. But neither kicks nor kisses sufficed to pacify the perverse land. Lord Hartington the Chief Secretary moved for a committee to enquire into the condition of Westmeath and the adjoining districts. There, more than anywhere else, it was the Ribbon Society *that ruled; it was the 'ribbon' law that prevailed and was obeyed, and not the law of the land. Crime and terrorism, the results of organised conspiracy, made the situation extremely serious. In consequence the *Westmeath Act* was passed in 1871. It suspended the Habeas Corpus Act and authorised the Lord Lieutenant to commit without trial suspected persons. It was to remain in force for two years. Though outrages continued for some time more, the leaders of the society fled to America.

Gladstone next proceeded to deal with the third branch of the overshadowing upas tree—education. The godless colleges of Peel forming parts of the Queen's University in Ireland had been a failure, except that at Belfast which was resorted to by Presbyterians. In 1864 had been established the Catholic University at Dublin. By the Bill that Gladstone introduced in 1873 the various colleges were all affiliated to the proposed National University which was to be the sole degree-giving

* It was a secret society of Catholics. It aimed against Protestantism and landlordism in Ireland. Unlike the Fenian Society, it was agrarian in its objects and methods and, like that society it was American in origin.

body. The University was to be liberally endowed. There were to be no chairs for Theology, Moral Philosophy and Modern History. The principle of the measure was that the Catholics and Protestants should share side by side in mixed or united education. It has been very well said that it needed all the exuberance of hopefulness to conceive that in Ireland Catholics and Protestants would amicably participate in a university where for teachers and students alike there should be a complete absence of religious tests. No wonder then that it was assailed on all sides. The Government was defeated. Gladstone Ministry fell. There is no doubt that Gladstone deviated from the prescribed way of governing Ireland. But he could not pacify Ireland. In England his Irish policy was assailed by Disraeli as having legalised confiscation, consecrated sacrilege, and condoned high treason.

Disraeli and Irish Education. Disraeli came to power in 1874 and dealt with the question of Irish education. In 1878 a million of money was appropriated from the Irish Church surplus to the encouragement of intermediate education and more than that amount in 1879, to provide pensions for elementary teachers. Nor did the Tory Premier leave higher education untouched. The Irish University Act of 1879 abolished the Queen's University, substituted in its place the Royal University of Ireland and founded many Fellowships, Scholarships and Prizes open to all. The Catholics availed themselves of these. It indirectly endowed sectarian education without rousing opposition. Beaconsfield said with reference to his University measure: "What we are doing is to place the ball at the feet of the Roman Catholics; if they do not kick it the fault will be theirs and not ours."

The Home Rule Movement. By this time a new force was making itself felt in Irish politics—the Home Rule Move-

ment. The reforms of Gladstone instead of securing the gratitude of the Irish people, had encouraged them in agitation. In May 1870 a meeting of the Irish Nationalists at Bilton Hotel, Dublin, had ended in the foundation of the *Home Government Association*, which changed its name in 1873 to the *Home Rule League*. It was formed and led by Isaac Butt, a successful advocate, and a man of very moderate temper, more liked than feared in the British House of Commons. The Home Rule was different alike from Fenianism and the Repeal movement of the forties. England had failed to govern Ireland well, hence, argued the nationalists, the Irish should be given the chance of managing their own affairs and, they said, the worst Irish rule would be better than the best British rule. There was to be an Irish Parliament to control Irish affairs; but Ireland was to retain a federal connection with the Empire, and in virtue of this, was still to send representatives to Westminster and to contribute a just proportion to the Imperial expenditure. The movement was a sort of philosophical Fenianism. At the same time it was not simply Repeal in a new dress. It was an idea of European rather than of native origin. It had its roots in the strong feeling of nationality which was manifesting itself in Monroeism in America, Pan-Germanism and Pan-Slavism in Europe. Isaac Butt failed completely to persuade the English people by a sympathetic presentation of what he regarded as a very reasonable case. His followers grew impatient of his moderation; one of them Joseph Biggar began in 1875 the method of deliberately obstructing business in Parliament. Butt was thrust aside and he died a disappointed man in 1879. Leadership passed nominally on to Shaw. But some time before Butt's

* See Foreign policy of Salisbury where the Monroe doctrine has been incidentally explained (p. 174).

death a new man was coming to the forefront—Charles Stewart Parnell.

Parnell and his tactics. Parnell was born at Avondale in 1846, of English father and American mother. A Protestant and a landlord he had nothing in common with the Irish Catholics save his intense hatred of everything English. Fate of the Manchester martyrs (1867) first aroused his strange and solitary mind. In 1876 he was elected a member for the County of Meath, and he at once joined Biggar in his obstruction campaign. In 1878 he was elected President of the Home Rule organisation in England and in 1880 the official chief of the Home^o Rule party in Parliament. Parnell's leadership blended into one force the divergent streams of Irish national effort, divided since 1845. His leadership was as absolute as that of Gladstone and his personality as inscrutable as that of Disraeli. He has been thus described: "He was a man of handsome presence, with an iron will and an icy coldness of manner under which burnt passions of volcanic intensity. His followers whom he treated with haughty reserve, were dominated and fascinated by him. His love for Ireland was questionable; but of his bitter hate for England there was no doubt at all." He was no speaker; but the few words that he uttered clasped the mind of his hearers with hooks of steel. He was a born leader of men, and a past master in Parliamentary tactics. *At Westminster* he relied on Parliamentary obstruction: if England did not legislate for Ireland's good, she must not legislate at all, and he organised the Irish party for the purpose of wasting time by needless prolongation of debate on every measure and damaging the dignity of the House of Commons. Yet efficient as obstruction was, it could not have accomplished its work alone. *So outside Parliament*, Parnell set himself to make Ireland ungovernable by encouraging and organising

predial agitation. In 1879 the Land League was founded with Parnell as its first President. The year 1879, a black year of acute agricultural distress, was suitable to an agrarian campaign. The Land League had two avowed objects: (a) to reduce rack rents, and (b) to transfer the ownership of land to the occupiers. But the real object was to destroy "Irish landlordism"—because landlordism was a British garrison which barred the way to national independence". Parnell addressed meeting after meeting to propagate the land movement. He went over to America with double purpose of raising funds for the Land League and of inducing the Clan-na-Gael or new Fenians to abandon their old methods of violence in favour of the new and more practical programme of the Land League and of the Home Rule party. In both objects he succeeded. The Government could only reply by renewing the *Peace Preservation Act* in 1875 for a further period of 5 years. The Westmeath Act expired in 1877 and was not renewed. Beaconsfield in a letter to the Duke of Marlborough darkly hinted at the disastrous consequences likely to flow from the 'attempts of some to sever the constitutional tie that united Ireland to Great Britain.'

Gladstone and Parnell. Such was the agitated state of Ireland when the Tory Ministry of Disraeli fell and Gladstone formed his second Administration (1880-85). The Irish problem naturally occupied a good deal of Gladstone's attention. Lord Cowper was made the Lord Lieutenant, and Forster the Chief Secretary. The Election of 1880 had resulted in the return of 65 Home Rulers to Parliament. Their presence marks a new stage in the history of the Irish questions. Irish discontent at that time arranged itself under two heads—Home Rule and Land League. The new Ministry began well by dropping the *Peace Preservation Act* and in bringing a Bill for

compensation to evicted tenants in Ireland. But the Compensation for Disturbance Bill was rejected by the Lords ; and that year (1880) owing to agricultural depression and non-payment of rents, no less than 10,000 persons were evicted ; and in reply, 2500 agrarian outrages were committed ; and in September of that year Parnell enunciated what has since been known as the 'boycott'. If a tenant took a farm from which his neighbour had been evicted, he must be 'isolated from his kind as if he were a leper of old'. Captain Boycott was the first victim of the process, hence the word. Agrarian crimes increased. The Irish Executive asked for extraordinary powers. A Coercion Bill which practically enabled the viceroy to lock up anybody he pleased and to detain him as long as he pleased, was passed (1881) in spite of the dogged obstruction of the Parnellites. The debate was however closed by an arbitrary act of the Speaker. This led to the introduction of closure in 1883, which asserts the power of the majority to limit obstruction. In pursuance of the policy of kicks and kisses, Gladstone introduced his second Land Bill. It was based on the famous 3F.'s—*fair rents* to be fixed for the next 15 years by a Court established for that purpose, *fixity of tenure* for all who paid the rents, and *free sale* of the tenant's interest. The power to contract out of its provisions was confined to tenancies of £150 and upwards. Transfer of land was to be cheap ; state was to advance money to tenants for land purchase and agricultural improvements. The Act recognised dual ownership in land of the tenant and the landlord. But it benefited the sitting tenant at the expense of the landlord and of all future tenants. Unfortunately for the author of the Act, agricultural prices fell by one-third during the next 15 years so that 'fair' rents became unfair long before they could legally be altered. Moreover from the very beginning Ireland refused to accept it. Parnell had denounced it as

a sham, and advised the tenants to stay away from the land Courts. The Coercion Act did not stop outrages. Gaols were filled with suspects. Gladstone publicly denounced the gospel of public plunder and declared that the resources of civilisation were not exhausted. In October 1881 Parnell and six of his followers were arrested under the Coercion Act and lodged in Kilmainham jail. Parnell had said that in the event of his arrest, he would leave behind Captain Moonlight in charge. So it proved. Terribly worse grew the situation in Ireland when the relatively restraining influence of Parnell was withdrawn. Five days after the arrest, the Land League issued the No-rent Manifesto by which no rent was to be paid until the leaders were released. Two days later (October 20, 1881) the League itself was proclaimed as an illegal and criminal association. Forster the Chief Secretary waged a brave fight against lawlessness and even visited, at the grave peril of his life, the disturbed districts. But nothing availed to check crime. In 1882 Gladstone threw over his valiant but coercive Chief Secretary and made, through the agency of Joseph Chamberlain, the famous treaty with Parnell in the Kilmainham jail. In consequence Forster resigned. Lord Spencer became Lord Lieutenant and Lord Frederick Cavendish the Chief Secretary for Ireland. By the Kilmainham Treaty Parnell and his associates who were not guilty of commission of crime were to be released, and the Government was to introduce a satisfactory Arrears Bill and the Irish leader was to slow down the agitation, give the Land Act a chance and cooperate cordially with the Liberals. But the treaty was rendered void of effect by a gruesome murder. On May 6, 1882 the new Chief Secretary and Mr. Burke, the permanent Under-Secretary of Ireland, were murdered in the Phoenix Park by members of a little secret gang who called

themselves the Invincibles. Mr. Burke was the quarry ; the murder of Lord Frederick was an accident. In January 1883, the Invincibles were tracked down and tried. Five were hanged and 3 sentenced to penal servitude for life. But the dastardly outrage evoked widespread horror and passionate regret. The Irish nationalist leaders expressed their sincere detestation of the crime and Parnell even offered to resign his leadership of the Home Rule party. This sincere conduct of Parnell effected a change in Gladstone's "mental attitude towards him, a change which altered by a gradual process, his views upon Irish policy". The Phoenix Park murder flung back the constitutional movement by years ; the memory of the crime became one of the chief difficulties in the way of Gladstone, when he tried to persuade the English to trust the Irish with self-government.

The first answer to the murder was a *Crimes Act* (1882) of unprecedented severity. It gave the Executive power (a) to prohibit meetings and suppress associations and newspapers, (b) in serious cases to create a special tribunal of 3 Judges to try, without a jury, cases of treason, murder and other aggravated crimes, (c) to levy compensations on the districts for murder and maiming, and (d) it authorised the Police to enter houses by day or night to search for the apparatus of crime and to arrest persons wandering about at night without reasonable cause. Parnell did not much oppose the Bill, though his followers did. Conciliation followed coercion. The *Arrears Act* was passed. It relieved partly at the expense of the State and partly of the landlords, the tenants of under £30 a year from arrears on two conditions : (a) that they had paid their rents from November 1880 to November 1881 ; (b) that they gave proof before the land court of their inability to pay. The landlords were partially compensated for their losses from the Exchequer.

The Coercion Act combined with the courageous and impartial administration of Lord Spencer and Mr. George Trevelyan, the new Chief Secretary, wore down the most serious forms of lawlessness and restored at least outward calm in Ireland. Into England the agents of the Clan-na-Gael carried the dynamite outrages which however all failed in their purpose. Between the Phoenix Park crime and the Election of 1885 Parnell was not very active and did nothing to make the situation worse. But he was biding his time ; he was making the necessary preparations. In October 1882 he founded in place of the suppressed Land League, the National League with the avowed object of securing Home Rule ; its methods were to be boycotting and intimidation.

Salisbury and Parnell. The Irish Nationalists were much strengthened by the extension of the Franchise Act of 1884 to Ireland. In the election of 1885 the Parnellites were returned 86 strong. They exactly held the balance between the parties : Liberals 345 ; Conservatives 249 ; Parnellites 86. By that time however, Gladstone had resigned and the Conservatives under Salisbury had come to office, though not to power (July, 1885). The Conservatives were in a minority of 100, so they had to seek the Irish alliance. They deliberately refused to renew the expiring Crimes Act of 1882. Lord Carnarvon the new Viceroy interviewed Parnell and displayed leanings towards Home Rule in a limited form. In open Parliament, the policy of Lord Spencer, the previous Viceroy, was assailed. But the most substantial measure of the Salisbury Government was the Land Act of 1885, popularly known as the Ashbourne Act, after the name of the Irish Lord Chancellor, Lord Ashbourne. By this act, a sum of £5 millions was set aside out of the Irish Church surplus to be advanced as loans to tenants for the purchase of their holdings. The loans carried a 4 p. c. interest

and were to be paid back in 49 years. Thus the Act made a real beginning with the work of converting tenant-cultivators into proprietors of the soil. Thus the Conservatives did much to win over Parnell. It was also well known that the new Viceroy, Lord Carnarvon at least favoured the idea of uniting Ireland with England on federal principles. At the General Election towards the end of 1885 the Irish vote in English constituencies was given, under Parnell's orders, to the Conservative candidates. Yet the Liberals, as has been noted above, came back over the Conservatives. But the Parnellites held the balance. It was useless for either of the two parties to form an administration without coming to terms with Parnell who, in consequence, became the 'touchstone of the whole British Empire and the arbiter of fate to its ministers'. One more point in the Election should be noted. For Ireland, as a result of the extended franchise established in 1885 there was a total of 103 seats for which 86 Parnellites were returned. Thus the will of the Catholic Ireland was unequivocally declared for Home Rule. Gladstone like various other statesmen of both parties, had for some time been turning over in his mind the pros and cons of a Home Rule policy, and now the moment for it seemed to him to have come. During his second Administration, he had thought of extending the local government to Ireland with an elective central board, and now he made up his mind to grant a separate legislature and executive to Ireland. During the stop-gap Government of Salisbury, he offered to co-operate with the Conservative administration to pass some kind of Home Rule. But Salisbury blandly declined to communicate the views of his government on the subject. On sounding the Whigs like Lord Hartington, Gladstone found them opposed to any large measure of self-government to Ireland.

Gladstone's conversion and the First Home Rule Bill. Hardly however were the results of the Election known when the public became astonished by the sudden announcement (December 17, 1885) in the newspapers, the *Standard* and the *Leeds Mercury* that Gladstone had become a convert to Home Rule under certain limitations, and though the accuracy of the story was indignantly denied by the Liberal leaders it was found before long to be true. Meanwhile the amount of lawlessness in Ireland led the Salisbury Ministry to announce that, a Bill should be brought in to suppress the National League and the disorder and lawlessness in Ireland. Indignant at this and delighted with Gladstone's rumoured conversion, the Home Rulers now voted with the Liberals and in the debate on the Queen's speech the Salisbury Government was defeated on an amendment, and the Ministry resigned (January 28, 1886). Gladstone formed his third Ministry. The exclusion of open opponents of Home Rule like Hartington, Goschen and Bright, showed that the rumours were not baseless. Two others, Chamberlain and Trevelyan, resigned before the Home Rule Bill was introduced. The Liberal Premier thus by sending up his famous 'kite', created a serious split in his party. A considerable minority headed by the above named Whigs and Radicals preferred the old policy of regarding the maintenance of the legislative union as a fundamental principle.

On April 8, 1886 Gladstone introduced his first Home Rule Bill. There was to be a Legislative Body at Dublin dealing with purely Irish affairs in strict subordination to the Parliament at Westminster. It was to be composed of two orders: one consisting of 28 representative Irish peers and 75 members elected by persons of £25-a-year qualification and possessed of a property qualification of £200 a year, and the other consisting of 206 members elected by the existing constitu-

cies. The two orders were to sit together, though either might demand a separate voting. No longer Irish members were to sit in the Imperial Parliament. Questions relating to the Crown, army, navy, foreign and colonial affairs, post office, coinage, trade and navigation, weights and measures, copyright were to be assigned to the Imperial Parliament. The local legislature would impose taxes with the exception of customs duties. Ireland was to contribute to the imperial charges in the proportion of $\frac{1}{15}$ th. The executive power was still to be entrusted to the Viceroy, assisted by a Privy Council, but advised by ministers responsible to the Legislature. This was the Premier's Home Rule Bill by which, as he said, he wanted to 'secure at once social peace, and the power and permanence of the Empire.' Along with this he introduced on April 16, a *Land Purchase Bill*, by which the Irish landlords could claim from the treasury the selling price fixed at 20 years' purchase of the net rental. The tenants were to be proprietors immediately. The Bill did not adequately provide for any security for the repayment of the large amount which was to be thus advanced for making the tenants the proprietors of their land. The Land Bill seriously affected the fortunes of the main Bill for Home rule.

The Home Rule Bill was attacked in the House of Commons by Lord Hartington and Chamberlain, Bright and Parnell. Exclusion of Irish members from Westminster, the creation of the two orders, inadequacy of the safeguards to the Irish Protestants and Ulstermen, the fixing of the high contribution of $\frac{1}{15}$ th were the main points of attack. Lord Randolph Churchill had already outside Parliament spread the war cry, "Ulster will fight; Ulster will be right"; and now in Parliament exposed the inconsistencies of the Bill. Bright made it clear that he could not consent to a measure so offensive

to the Protestant population of Ireland. In the face of the opposition, Gladstone offered to make great modifications, if only the principle of the Bill was accepted and the second reading passed. But, to use the words of Morley, the giant mass of secular English prejudice against Ireland frowned like a mountain chain across the track; and the Bill was defeated by a majority of 30. Gladstone at once appealed to the country. The Election took place amidst scenes of great excitement and resulted in the defeat of Gladstone who came back to Westminster with only 191 followers (Gladstonian Liberals). The Liberal Unionists numbered 78, Parnellites 85, Tories 316. So clear was the voice of the Election that the Premier resigned office before the meeting of the new Parliament and Salisbury again formed an administration (August 1886).

Unionist Policy of Resolute Government. The Irish affairs were expected to occupy much of their time, and to prove the test of the capacity and character of the new government. Lord Salisbury had declared that Ireland needed twenty years of strong and resolute government. The first necessity was the restoration of social order in Ireland—an object in which all the Unionists agreed. So Sir Redvers Buller, a distinguished soldier, was sent to the West of Ireland to suppress disorder and crime. The Government further expressed the hope that as Gladstone had become the head of the nationalist party, the Home Rule agitation would be constitutional and as such the existing law ought to suffice. At the same time the Government while promising no special privilege to Ireland, laid down as its policy, "equity, similarity and simultaneity of treatment in the development of a genuinely popular system of government in all the four countries of the United Kingdom". In view of the agrarian distress Parnell

introduced a *Tenants' Relief Bill* (September 1886). It proposed that leaseholders should be admitted to the benefit of the Land Act, that power should be given to both landlord and tenant to appeal to the Court for an alteration of the judicial rent, and that the Land Court should be authorised to stay eviction when the tenant had paid half the rent. It was rejected by the Commons, and Ireland answered by the 'Plan of Campaign', invented by Dillon and William O'Brien. The Plan was that tenants were in the first instance to offer their landlords what they considered fair rents; if the offer was refused, the money was to be lodged with representatives of the National League and spent on an organised Campaign against evictions. The Plan should be distinguished from the Norent Manifesto of 1881; in this case the tenants were willing to pay fair rents. Parnell disclaimed any responsibility for the Plan. In December 1886 the movement was declared illegal, and in March 1887 a Crimes Bill was introduced by the new Chief Secretary Mr. A. J. Balfour, nephew of Salisbury. Balfour had in March 1887 become the Chief Secretary in place of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach resigned. He was destined to rise to the forefront of politics by his resolute rule in Ireland. All former Coercion Acts were temporary but this act of 1887 differed from them in being a part of the permanent law of the land. By this (known also as the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1887) the Lord Lieutenant was authorised to proclaim a district as disturbed or to declare an association as illegal; the powers of Resident Magistrates—nicknamed as Balfour's irremovables—were greatly enlarged. A good deal of opposition to the Bill was anticipated. But two things facilitated its passage through the Parliament—(a) the guillotine resolution and (b) the opportune publication of a series of articles in the *Times* on *Parnellism and Crime*.

According to the guillotine resolution or closure by compartments the House was given a fixed period for the discussion of a Government measure ; if it chose to waste that time, the measure would pass automatically at the expiry of that period, even though parts of the Bill remained undiscussed. The articles in the *Times* strove to establish the complicity of Parnell and his associates in the agrarian outrages and crimes ; and on the day (April 18, 1887) fixed for the second reading of the Crimes Bill, the *Times* published the facsimile of a letter supposed to have been written by Parnell soon after the Phoenix Park murder, to an anonymous correspondent in which the writer said that Burke had got no more than he deserved. The Crimes Bill became law in July 1887. But coercion, as usual, was not to stand alone. In the same year a *Land Act* was passed giving power to the Land Court to revise (*i.e.*, to reduce) the rents judicially fixed and admitting the leaseholders to the benefits of the Land Act of 1881. The Act did much to relieve the over-rented tenants and so neutralise the 'Plan of Campaign' agitation. But its effects were not manifest at once ; for the year 1887 saw lawlessness at its worst. But Balfour grappled with the situation bravely : 18 counties were proclaimed (July) ; the National League was proclaimed an unlawful association (August) and many of the agitators, the chief being William O'Brien M. P., were arrested. On the day (Sept 9, 1887) of the trial at Mitchelstown (in Cork) there was an affray between the populace and the police resulting in the loss of some lives. Much was made of this incident ; even Gladstone raised the cry, "Remember Mitchelstown". In the struggle between order and disorder, victory, thanks to the steady persistence of Balfour, rested with the former. Throughout 1888 the struggle continued. In that year a blow was struck at the

Nationalist party by a Papal Bull denouncing the boycott and the Plan of Campaign as being against natural justice and Christian charity. The Nationalist leaders replied by a resolution repudiating the Pope's political jurisdiction over Catholic Ireland.

Triumph and Disgrace of Parnell. We now turn to the articles in the *Times*. One Mr. O'Donnell brought an unsuccessful suit of libel against the *Times* for the article mentioned above. During the trial, other incriminating letters supposed to have been written by Parnell were produced before the Court. The Irish leader asked for a Select Committee of the House to enquire into their authenticity. The Government refused but carried a Bill (without precedent in British constitutional history) establishing an extraordinary Commission of three Judges to examine all the charges brought against the Irish leader in *Parnellism and Crime*. During the course of the cross-examination before the Commission Pigott broke down completely and then fled to Madrid where he committed suicide to avoid arrest. The Commission found Parnell innocent of the Phoenix Park murder and other charges but proved his associates like Dillon, O'Brien and others, guilty of a system of conspiracy and intimidation. The *Times* paid heavy damages for libel to Parnell. He was now at the height of his power and popularity. When Parnell entered the House of Commons the Liberal members and some Conservatives also rose to their feet and cheered him. The Government was correspondingly chagrined at the result of the enquiry. There was also a change of feeling in the country. Englishmen were now beginning to feel that the story of Coercion in Ireland made sad reading. Gladstone became more active and hopeful than ever. In December 1889 he discussed with Parnell who was his guest, the outlines

of the next Home Rule Bill. "Then", to quote Morley, "all at once a blinding sandstorm swept the ground. One of those events now occurred that with their stern irony so mock the statesman's foresight, and shatter political designs in their most prosperous hour". In the same December Parnell was cited as a co-respondent in a divorce suit by Captain O'Shea against his wife ; and he offered no defence. The Non-conformists, who formed the main strength of Liberalism, loudly proclaimed against the violator of domestic sanctities. Gladstone after some hesitation, sided with them in demanding the retirement of an unclean person like Parnell, from the leadership of the Irish cause. The Parnellites, afraid of losing the support of the Gladstonians, asked their leader to resign. Having refused to abdicate, Parnell was deposed from the leadership by a majority of his party. A small section of 26 clung to him ; the rest chose Justin M'Carthy as the leader. Parnell launched on a campaign in Ireland and told the people that "the English leaders intended to play Ireland false". But all was in vain. The Roman Catholic Bishops also forsook him. Worn down in body and mind, Parnell passed away on October 6, 1891 at the age of 45. Thus was removed from the arena of politics the strongest and the strangest of Irish leaders. Though a Protestant and a landlord, he wielded greater influence as leader than the Catholic leader, O'Connell. By his organising ability and successful tactics, he made Home Rule the living issue in the English party politics.

In the same year and on the same day died W. H. Smith. In consequence Balfour, the Irish Secretary, was transferred as First Lord of the Treasury and the Leader of the House of Commons. During the four years and a half of his Irish office (1887—91), he had gained great reputation for

ability and when he left it, he had won the regard of the Irish people and the respect of the Irish members. While sternly suppressing all disorder, he sympathised with economic distress and did his utmost to relieve it. He opened a series of relief works to alleviate distress caused by the failure of potato crop (1890-91). In 1891 was established the Congested Districts Board, a body to which was entrusted the special charge of districts where the population was greater than the resources of the soil could support. These lay along the Western seaboard from Donegal to Cork. It had power to purchase estates and redistribute the land so as to provide holdings that would support families and also to assist in the erection of buildings. It did much also to develop local fisheries.

Gladstone's Second Home Rule Bill. The General Election of 1892 gave Gladstone, as has been noted already, a majority in combination with the Celtic fringe (*i.e.*, the Irish members of 81). In 1892 at the age of 83, he formed his fourth Ministry with Morley, as before, the Chief Secretary for Ireland. In February 1893 he disclosed to the Commons his second edition of the Home Rule Bill. This second Bill differed from the first in allowing 80 Irish members to sit at Westminster and in making the Irish Legislature bi-cameral. The Legislative Council was to consist of 48 members elected for 8 years by owners or occupiers of land of the rateable value of £20 per annum; the Legislative Assembly was to consist of 103 members elected from the existing constituencies. After infinite labour it was carried through the House of Commons with one important alteration: whereas the original proposal was to allow the Irish members at Westminster to take part *only* in discussions concerning Ireland, the alteration allowed them to vote on every subject without restriction. But

on September 8, the House of Lords rejected the Bill by 419 to 41. The aged Premier did not venture to enter upon a quarrel with the Lords on this issue. But the peers on rejecting this Bill, accurately gauged the feeling of the country which took the news very quietly, if not acquiescently. Gladstone retired next year (March 1894) and Rosebery took his place. He agreed with Salisbury in believing that before Home Rule could be conceded to Ireland, England, as the predominant member of the partnership of the 3 kingdoms, would have to be convinced of its justice. The results of the previous election showed that England had not been convinced of its justice. The General Election of 1895 showed more decisively the anti-Home-Rule feeling: there were 411 Unionists, 177 Liberals and 82 Nationalists.

Unionist Policy of Conciliation. Salisbury's third Ministry (1896-1902), including Liberal Unionists, was on a Unionist basis. Home Rule ceased to be a question of practical politics. Not only that there was no English statesman who identified himself with it, but that the Home Rulers themselves were divided. Further the Irish people were indifferent: two good harvests and reduced rents had allayed their dissatisfaction for the time being. Above all the Unionist Government followed a policy of marked reconciliation. Home Rule was below the horizon and the Unionists helped to prevent its* rising again by settling the agrarian question. Gerald Balfour the Unionist Chief Secretary of Ireland, declared that he would 'kill Home Rule by kindness'. It is extremely doubtful if Home Rule was killed, though scotched for the time being; but the 'kindness' was real and practical. In 1896 a *Land Act* was passed: it provided for the gradual and voluntary expro-

* Earl of Cadogan was the Lord Lieutenant.

priation of the Irish landlords and the automatic adjustment of fair rent. The Act was more or less welcomed by the Irish leaders Redmond and Dillon but was strongly resented by the landlord party and it proved a severe strain on the traditional loyalty of the House of Lords to the Conservatives. But the landlords were beginning to feel that their interests were not separate from those of the tenants and the beginning of the twentieth century saw an approximation arrived at. In 1898 an Act was passed (like that of 1888 in England) setting up county and district councils in Ireland; and in the next year the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction was established in Ireland. The importance and the circumstances leading to the establishment of the latter, need a few words of explanation. Horace Plunkett had from the nineties been active in considering the means outside politics by which the material prosperity of Ireland might be stimulated. He preached co-operation and looked for prosperity rather to improved methods of agriculture than to lowering of rents. By 1894 co-operative societies were numerous enough to form a central union, the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society. In 1892 Plunkett became an M. P. and impressed upon the Irish members the need of economic legislation of a non-partisan character. The result was the establishment of the Department referred to and the Government granted no less than £166,000 to the Department to carry on its work in co-operation with the Agricultural Organisation Society. This Society had already established butter and bacon factories and village banks and worked on lines which laid the foundation of a new Ireland and taught England many lessons in co-operation. The *Local Government Act* of 1898 was no less important. It assigned to the Irish people as a whole the power of regulating their local taxation and administration which had hitherto

been vested in the landlords. The Nationalist Home Rulers held (except in Ulster) all the county and district councils. The power of eviction had already been seriously curtailed, and now the landlords were deprived of all local influence. They became simply ordinary citizens, annuitants rather than landlords.

The Irish party had been rent in twain : the Parnellites and the anti-Parnellites. They wasted energy in attacking each other : their supporters in the country lost interest and lost heart. The Parnellites were led by Redmond and the other group after M'Carthy, by Dillon. The Boer War led the Irish to believe that England could be successfully resisted by a small power. Interest in parliamentary proceedings revived and almost instinctively a union of two factions took place. Redmond was chosen (1900) the chairman of the united Irish party which entered upon a new course of opposition in the House of Commons and of agitation in Ireland. In 1900 Gerald Balfour (A. J. Balfour's brother) was succeeded by Wyndham as Chief Secretary for Ireland. The year 1901 bars our further progress with the Irish narrative.

CHAPTER IV.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

Development of Imperialism. From the very beginning of the period had set in a reaction against the old policy of looking upon the colonies as dependencies of Britain. The Manchester school of thought was pressing for the disavowal of all responsibilities for them ; the mother-country was weary of them. The belief soon gathered strength that the gradual dissolution of the Empire was not only an inevitable but also a desirable eventuality. The mid-Victorian scepticism as to the permanence of the imperial tie led to the grant of self-government to the Canadian and Australian colonies and independence to the two Boer Republics in South Africa (1852 and 1854). No objection was raised when Canada for the first time imposed duties (1858) on British manufactures or when some Australian colonies followed suit. Successive Colonial Secretaries of both parties Cardwell, Carnarvon, Granville and Kimberly withdrew the greater part of British troops from the colonies until the process was practically completed in 1873. In 1865 an Act empowered the colonial Legislatures to provide vessels of war, seamen and volunteers for their own defence. Lord Blachford the permanent Under-Secretary for Colonies 1860-71, thus frankly expressed the policy of the time : "The destiny of our colonies is independence ; and that in this point of view the function of the Colonial Office is to secure that our connexion, while it lasts, shall be as profitable to both parties, and our separation when it comes, as amicable as possible".

The very desire that separation should be amicable, contributed to avert the separation itself. From the seventies onwards the British as well as the Colonial statesmen began to look at the question from a different angle of vision. Disraeli was one of the first to raise his voice against the subtle and continuous policy of disintegrating the Empire. He inspired the minds of the British people with the conception of a confederation of powerful states united in allegiance to the British Crown, equal among themselves each, self-governing, yet invincible in the union. The imperial idea took root; it dominated the national mind in the last twenty-five years of the century. All parties were captivated by it; but the Conservatives were more sympathetic than the Liberals. Among the exponents of the ideal were Marquis of Salisbury, Lord Rosebery and Joseph Chamberlain; among its opponents were Gladstone and Harcourt. The manifestations of the imperialistic temper may be found in the Jubilee celebrations of 1887 and 1897, in the Colonial* Conferences of 1887, 1894 (at Ottawa), 1897 and 1902, and above all, in the ready help rendered by Canada and Australia to the mother-country against the attempt of the Boer rebels to secede from the Empire. It was the fear of disruption of the Empire that ranged the British people against Gladstone's Home Rule Bill.

The *fin de siècle* imperialism had two aspects. It was acquisitive. Abandoning the earlier unwillingness to assume new responsibilities, Britain took to acquiring territories in Africa, the Pacific and the Far East. Secondly, it was unifying. While adding territories, she did not forget to weld the several parts into a well-knit Commonwealth. The causes of the new Imperialism have already be explained (*ante*, pp. 113-4).

* Now called Imperial. The change of name is significant.

The twin forces of Socialism and Imperialism had their origin in a desire for national regeneration. Some saw in a close federation of the various parts of the Empire of British populations as the only means of 'pouring fresh vital energy into the veins of the mother-country' and of defending her against the military and economic competition of other Powers. Some on the other hand, sought to compass the same end by social reconstruction, by more equitable distribution of property and profits at home. These two classes of men, Imperialists and Socialists, might have been indifferent but not antagonistic, towards one another. The former included chiefly Conservatives, though some Liberals (*e.g.*, Rosebery) entertained ardent faith in Imperialism. Similarly the latter class comprised mainly Liberals and Labourites, though there were Conservatives who shared in the revolt against *laissez-faire*. Imperialism was a fashionable faith with wealth and aristocracy; Socialism was the inspiring ideal of the industrial masses. Among statesmen Joseph Chamberlain, and among poets Rudyard Kipling, may be mentioned as prominent Imperialists; so also were William Harcourt and William Morris, Socialists.

The British Empire was and is not homogenous in race and civilisation. The ideal of partnership was adopted in the case of white settlements peopled by progressive communities, fit for self-government, as, for instance, those of Australia; whereas in the case of backward races (as for instance, those of South Africa and India), the new ideal was that of trusteeship replacing the earlier selfish policy of exploitation for the interest of the ruling race. This new task is known by Rudyard Kipling's famous phrase, as 'the whiteman's burden'. A short history of each of the three important groups of colonies is given below.

Section I.

CANADA.

The Canadian Rebellion and the Durham Report.

The Queen's reign opened with Canada in revolt. By the Constitution of 1791 Canada proper had been divided into two parts, the Upper and the Lower. In each there was a governor with a nominated Executive and a bi-cameral legislature. But the Executive was not responsible to the Legislature. "In all the North American colonies the administration of public affairs was habitually confined to those who did not co-operate harmoniously with the popular branch of the legislature". Apart from this common grievance, Lower Canada had its special complaints. Upper Canada (Ontario) was British, Protestant and progressive; Lower Canada (Quebec) was French, Catholic and unprogressive. The intrusion of British settlers in course of time introduced an innovating, hence disorderly, element into Lower Canada which still wanted to hold fast to its ancient dreamy ways. The clergy reserves whereby one-seventh of the waste lands was set aside for the maintenance of the Protestant clergy, formed another source of ill-feeling. Thus in French Canada the friction with the mother-country took a racial and nationalist complexion. Having no other alternative the elected Chamber of Lower Canada refused to vote supplies. The British House of Commons at the instance of Russell passed resolutions placing the collection of revenue in the hands of the governor (Ap. 1837). Led by Louis Papineau Quebec broke out in revolt. Ontario followed suit. Of the two, the rising in Lower Canada was the more serious. But both were quelled without any difficulty.

To crush the insurrections was not enough ; to provide a remedy that would prevent their recurrence was the supreme need of the time. The British Government had the good sense to see this. Lord John Russell announced to the House of Commons (January 1838) that the Government proposed to suspend the Constitution of Lower Canada for three years and to send out Lord Durham as High Commissioner with quasi-dictatorial powers. He took with him Edward Gibbon Wakefield and Charles Buller. They were three of the prominent men who belonged to that small group of colonial reformers who in the thirties, were denouncing the old colonial policy and advocating colonial self-government and federation of the British Empire. They and men of that group were, to quote Prof. Ramsay Muir, the prophets and designers of the British Commonwealth in its twentieth-century form. Durham was a man of undoubted ability and strongly liberal, even radical, in views. He went out, says McCarthy, to Canada with the assurance of every one that his expedition would either make or mar a career, if not a country. Lord Durham found a new alternative : he made a country and marred a career. As the result of his mission Canada became the "classic land of colonial self-government : it was on her soil that the principles were established which determined the lines of later development in all the self-governing dominions." We now pass on to Durham's actions that proved the ruin of his career.

Durham arrived in Quebec in May, 1838. He at once called into being an Executive three of whose members were his own Secretaries. He issued ordinances condemning Papineau and others to death, if they returned to Canada, and transporting eight other rebels to the Bermudas. An amnesty was granted to the rest. These high-handed proceed-

ings especially that of pronouncing sentence without trial, was attacked at home. The promised powers were curtailed ; his transportation ordinance was disallowed. Durham was sorely hurt. After openly denouncing the conduct of the Cabinet, he resigned and sailed back on November, of the the same year. But he stayed there long enough to gather materials for his Report which was printed in February 1839.

Durham's *Report on Canada* is a classic on colonial government. He recommended among other things, the amalgamation of the two parts of Canada, the responsibility of the Executive to the Legislature and the provision for the future union of the Maritime Provinces (Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and others) with Canada proper in a North American federation. The Act of 1840 united the two Canadas but did not make the Executive responsible to the Legislature. It provided for a Legislative Council whose nominated members were to sit for life and a House of Representatives composed of equal number of elected members from each of the two former parts. The elected chamber was to have complete control of colonial finance. It was during the colonial Secretaryship of Lord Grey that instructions were issued (1847) to the Governor of Canada, Lord Elgin (Durham's son-in-law), to include in the Executive such members as commanded the confidence of the Assembly. The principle of responsible government was thus established. Its strength was put to a severe test in 1849. The Ministry of the time proposed compensation to the sufferers of 1837 ; the Loyalists urged on the Governor to veto the Bill which he refused to do even though he was 'pelted by the Loyalists with stones and rotten eggs and the Parliament House was burnt down'.

The Federation of Canada. Durham as well as the author of the Act of 1840 hoped that union of the two Canadas

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would gradually wear away the racial feelings. As a matter of fact the union of 1840 rested equivoque of the British and French Communities each sending an equal number of representatives to the elected chamber, But the influx of new immigrants disturbed the balance and led to the demand for more British representation in proportion to the increased population. This revived the French fear of British ascendancy. Separation again became inevitable. In the second place, some sort of rearrangement was rendered necessary by the fact that the provinces of British North America were economically dependent on U. S. A. and as such were thought likely to be absorbed in the latter. Federation, it was rightly believed, would make the provinces united and strong against the attractions of U. S. A. and at the same time enable each unit to retain its individuality and its own local legislature. The initiation was taken by the colonies. And after having settled the question of union in a meeting of representatives of all colonies and parties and races, a final conference was held in London under the Presidency of Lord Carnarvon, the Colonial Secretary. The British North America Bill based upon the details agreed upon in this conference, was submitted to and passed by the Imperial Parliament in March 1867. It provided for the federation of Quebec, Ontario, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick and for the future admission of other provinces. Manitoba formed out of the Hudson Bay territories, joined the Union in 1870, British Columbia in 1871 and Prince Edward Island in 1873. Newfoundland has preferred to remain separate.

Thus was the scheme of Durham realised some 30 years after. As a means of bringing the units together Durham had advocated in his *Report*, the construction of railways and canals. When the federation was effected, the work of consolidation was

greatly facilitated by the construction of railways, above all, by the Canadian Pacific Railway. Similarly the bond with the mother country was drawn closer by the establishment (1866) of telegraphic communications which 'placed London within speaking distance of Ottawa'.

The *British North America Act of 1867* established a bicameral central Legislature—the Senate and the House of Commons. The Second Chamber was to consist of nominated members sitting for life. The House of Commons composed of elected members was to sit for not more than 5 years and was to have the power of originating money bills as in Britain. The Central Legislature was to manage its allotted common affairs; each province was to have its own local legislature. The Executive was vested in the British Crown represented in the Dominions by the Governor-General who was to be aided and advised by a Privy Council on the model of the British Cabinet.

Section 2.

AUSTRALIA.

Growth of Australian Colonies. Australia has five parts—New South Wales, Victoria, Western Australia, South Australia and Queensland. In the Australian federation is included also Tasmania, another island of the Australasian group. New Zealand has a separate political history and existence.

Unlike Canada, Australia was unhampered by any race animosities in its history. It was peopled with British emigrants and its aborigines were few. New South Wales and Tasmania began as convict settlements; and in the former were included Victoria till 1852 and Queensland till 1859. Western Australia and S. Australia were free colonies. The colonies were at

first administered by governors helped by Legislative councils composed of nominated members. So long as they remained convict settlements, increase of free immigrants was not likely to be rapid and self-governing institutions were out of the question. Transportation to New South Wales was abolished in 1840 and to Tasmania in 1853.

In consonance with the mid-century practice Lord John Russell 1850 introduced into the British Parliament a Bill conferring on the colonies the right of framing their own constitutions and permitting them to levy duties on goods, British and foreign. Accordingly democratic constitutions modelled on that of the mother-country, were created by New South Wales, Tasmania, Victoria and South Australia and confirmed by the British Parliament in 1855.

The Australian Commonwealth. The great need of Australia was population. Abolition of transportation gave the first stimulus to immigration which was encouraged by other means. Discoveries of gold-mines in New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, Western Australia from the fifties onwards resulted in a large inrush of population. Trade and industry grew; agricultural resources were developed; roads and railways were constructed. Owing to the inter-communications of the different parts and the growth of community of interests and above all, owing to the appearance of other European Powers in the Pacific and the rise of Japan, the desire for federation was strongly felt. After many discussions the colonies agreed on a scheme of federation in 1900. It was approved by the Imperial Parliament and the *Australian Commonwealth Act* came into force on January 1, 1901. It was the last important measure to which the Queen gave her consent. The frame of government introduced by the Act resembles that of Canada with the exception that in the Australian federation,

the local or state legislatures enjoy a greater degree of independence.

Section 3.

SOUTH AFRICA.

The Boer Trek ; its results. (Cape Colony originally belonged to the Dutch. The English came into possession of it in 1815. There were as a consequence, three elements in the population—English, Dutch and native. Of these the English were very small, though the government was in their hand.) The Dutch resented the Anglicisation of the country—English system of justice, education and church.) Frictions became frequent. (Ultimately the Dutch decided to leave the Cape, and go further inland where they would be free of the English. Thus began the Great Boer Trek (1836-40). And our period begins with the Trek. The ultimate result of it was the establishment of two Boer States, the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony. Leaving the Cape, many Boers first went to Natal and in the early forties there was the possibility of a third Boer State in Natal. In 1844 it was declared to be British Colony and many Boers in consequence withdrew from it into the interior. Thus there were four states, two of them, the Cape and Natal, were indisputably English and the other two, Transvaal and the Orange Free State were founded by the Dutch subjects of the Cape Government.) Besides there were native tribes settling upon land adjacent to these states—the Zulus, the Basutoes, the Griquas and others. ^

The Mid-Century Policy. The chief question in the forties was, what was to be the relation between the Cape Colony and the two Boer States to the north? Lord Grey, the Colonial Secretary of the first Russell Ministry (1846-52) wanted to restrict imperial responsibilities to the two States

of the Cape and Natal. But Sir Harry Smith, the Governor of the Cape, declared Orange River Sovereignty annexed to the Queen of England and defeated the Boers who resisted the British rule at Boomplatz (August 1848). The Colonial Secretary reluctantly consented ; but when the Governor in 1851 involved the Government in an ill-considered and unsuccessful war with the Kaffirs on the eastern frontier of Cape Colony, he was recalled. In June 1862 to prevent trouble from the Boers of the Transvaal the independence of their country was recognised by the Sand River Convention. It came to be known as South African or Transvaal Republic. In England at that time the extension of colonial responsibilities was looked upon with great disfavour. So in 1854 by the Bloemfontein Convention the independence of the Orange Free State was also recognised. In 1856 Natal was separated from the Cape.

Characteristics of South African History. Thus the middle of the fifties saw the completion of the process of dismemberment. Thenceforward the South African history centres round the reconvergence of the disjointed parts of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. Froude has very tersely summarised the general features of England's dealings with South Africa in the nineteenth century : "Spasmodic violence alternating with impatient dropping of the reins ; first severity and then indulgence, and then severity again, with no persisting in any one system—a process which drives nations mad as it drives children".

Futile attempt at Federation. For 15 years or more, the policy of cautious abstention or rather masterly inactivity was followed. Towards the end of the sixties it was drawing to a close. The Basutoes to the east of the Orange Free State, afraid of the Boers, placed themselves under British

sovereignty in 1869. In 1867 diamond mines were found near the Orange River and in 1870 the Kimberly mines (in Griqualand West) were opened. In 1871 Griqualand West was annexed in spite of the protest of the Orange State. The economic, social and political results of the diamond discoveries were more valuable than the diamonds. "The digger, the capitalist, the company promoter, jostled the slow-moving Dutch farmer and quickened the pace of life". This event coincided roughly with the coming of Disraeli to power in 1874 with Lord Carnarvon at the Colonial office. Carnarvon in the same capacity had been responsible in 1867 for the passage through Parliament of the Act establishing federation in Canada. He now intended to carry out a similar policy of federation in South Africa. To further his design he sent out Sir Bartle Frere as Governor of the Cape and High Commissioner. He also sent Mr. Froude, the eminent historian, to discuss some form of confederation in a conference with the local leaders. Froude was tactless; no conference met. The Colonial Secretary convened a conference at his Office. Sir Theophilus Shepstone represented Natal; Molteno, the Cape; President Brand, the Orange State; no representative came from the Transvaal. The Conference met but did nothing. But Carnarvon was not discouraged. He sent Sir Theophilus Shepstone to sound Boer opinion on the question of confederation and to invite the Boers to come under British flag. After studying the situation, Shepstone declared the Transvaal annexed to the British Empire (March 1877) promising fullest 'legislative privileges compatible with the circumstances of the country and intelligence of its people.' The promise was not carried into effect. Paul Kruger went on a deputation of protest to London but was told by Carnarvon that the act was irrevocable. The Boers in

sullen resentment bided their time. At the same time the Colonial Secretary had got the sanction of the Parliament to a permissive confederation Bill for South Africa. But Sir Bartle Frere (1877-80) could do nothing with the scheme; it remained a dead letter.

The Zulu War. The annexation of the Transvaal had many good reasons behind it. The State was morally and materially bankrupt; it was threatened with annihilation by the Zulus to the South East. The action of Shepstone saved this outpost of white civilisation in South Africa but brought England face to face with the ferocity of the Zulu power. The Zulus had been organised into a power by their chief Cetewayo one of whose orders was that no Zulu youth was to marry until he had washed his spear in the blood of an enemy. Frere wrote to Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Carnarvon's successor at the Colonial Office, the necessity of some measures to curb Zulu power. A rail into the Transvaal, an assault on a British survey officer, refusal of the Zulu chief to entertain a British Resident, ultimately led to a war in January 1879. It opened disastrously with Isandhlwana (January) where a British force was literally cut to pieces. Great was the outcry against the general, Lord Chelmsford, and against the Governor Sir Bartle Frere. The heroic defence of Rorke's Drift partially redeemed the disaster. The Zulu power was finally crushed by Chelmsford at Ulundi (July). Cetewayo was captured and the war was brought to an end. In 1883 he was reinstated but was driven out by his people. Finally a great part of the Zululand was incorporated in Natal in 1887.

The Beaconsfield Cabinet (1874-80) had not been thus on the whole fortunate in its South African policy. It made many miscalculations which gave a handle to the Opposition. Gladstone in his Midlothian Campaign had denounced the

Forward Policy especially the annexation of Transvaal as having been obtained by means dishonourable to the character of the country. He was thanked and his speeches were remembered by the Boer leaders. But when he came to power (1880-5) he decided that the annexation could not be undone.

The First Boer War. Freed from the Zulu peril and convinced that the Liberal party in spite of all its talk at the Election time would do nothing for them, the Boers prepared for armed rebellion. Taxation was resisted; a provincial government was formed with Kruger, Pretorius and Joubert at the head; the national flag was hoisted. The moment was well-chosen, for the Transvaal was denuded of troops on account of the Basuto rebellion. Sir George Colley who was then the Governor of Natal and High Commissioner of South East Africa, could collect only 1200 men against the Boer general, Joubert, whom he found posted at Laing's Nek, a narrow pass leading to the Transvaal. Twice repulsed, Colley led some 400 men up Majuba Hill, which dominated Joubert's position. But the Boers drove Colley and his men down the hill and in the action the English General and some 90 men were killed (February 1881). Public opinion in England was roused. Sir Frederick Roberts was hurried out in command of a considerable force. But the mistake of Gladstone was in carrying on two incompatible things at the same time—war and negotiation. And both were being carried on languidly. Before Sir Frederick landed, Sir Evelyn Wood, successor of Colley, had, in pursuance of instructions from home, concluded an armistice with Joubert for arranging terms of settlement. This attitude of the Government was criticised both at home and by the English inhabitants of South Africa. But Gladstone justified it by saying that to carry on war simply in revenge

for Majuba would be 'blood-guiltiness'. Lord Kimberley the Colonial Secretary said that continuance of the war would extend it into a race struggle between the Dutch and the English. A convention was concluded at Pretoria (August 1881) by which the Transvaal was to retain complete internal self-government under the suzerainty of the Queen. Paul Kruger succeeded by the Convention of London (February 1884) in obtaining from Lord Derby the Colonial Secretary, a revision of these terms : Transvaal was given the name South African Republic and all reference to the Queen's suzerainty was omitted ; but the Republic was to make no treaty without the consent of Britain except with the Orange Free State. Gladstone's policy of retrocession, of concession after a disastrous defeat in the field, was violently assailed. It might have been the lesser of the two evils of war and surrender, but it was fraught with future mischief. It embittered the feeling of the British all over South Africa and it gave the Boers the idea that they were the better men and could do what they liked.

This triumph was followed by a period of attempts made by the Transvaal Boers to extend their territories. The British to confine them within fixed boundaries, declared Bechuanaland annexed in 1885 and Zululand in 1887. In the latter year owing to the firmness of Salisbury the Zambesi was recognised by the Powers as the natural northern limit of British South Africa. Thus the Transvaal was hemmed in by British territories. To the north of the Transvaal is Rhodesia of which something will be said later on.

Gold Mines ; Uitlanders. Meanwhile in the Transvaal itself, an event of first-rate importance had taken place. Gold mining on a small scale had been carried on since 1867 ; but in 1885 the 'banket' beds of Wit-watersrand, (shortly called the Rand) were discovered. This attracted a large number of

foreigners—known as Uitlanders—to work the mines. They were predominantly English. The town Johannesburg was founded in 1886; the number of Uitlanders increased : within 10 years it swelled to 77,000 ; and probably at the time of the war it was 100,000, forming more than $\frac{1}{5}$ ths of the white population ; that is to say, the Uitlanders outnumbered the Transvaal Boers who resented their intrusion. They were subjected to petty persecutions ; they had no franchise and could not elect members to the Transvaal Volksraad ; at the same time they were heavily taxed. Lord Ripon, the Colonial Secretary under the Fourth Gladstone Ministry, tried to impress upon the President, Paul Kruger, the necessity of granting full political rights to the Uitlanders after five years' residence. But Kruger was obdurate. To a deputation of Uitlanders he said : "This is my country and these are my laws. Those who do not like to obey my laws can leave my country". After this pronouncement, nothing remained to be done, except an appeal to the sword. That the Uitlanders had real grievances is not open to any doubt. Even in their own city of Johannesburg they had no rights of municipal self-government. Before tracing the question to its logical issue, something should be said regarding a new personality who had made his appearance in South African politics.

Cecil Rhodes. Cecil Rhodes had come to South Africa in 1871 for the sake of health and joined in the rush to Kimberley diamond mines and soon acquired considerable wealth and influence. In 1881 he entered the Cape Parliament, was mainly responsible for the annexation of Bechuanaland in 1885, thus interposing a British barrier between the Transvaal and the German South West Africa. He had sympathies with the ~~Africander Bond~~ which, started in the seventies, aimed at uniting all the four States under British suzerainty but with

equal rights for the two races (Dutch and English). His further plan was to extend British dominion in the savage tract to the north of the Transvaal and his dream it was to connect Cape Town with Cairo by railway. His curiously attractive and forcible personality, says the historian, and his imaginative idealism which was not inconsistent with some lack of intellectual precision and of ethical scruple, gained him enthusiastic and admiring adherents. Backed by powerful interests in the City and in London society, Rhodes applied for a charter giving the Company sovereign powers. It was a time when England had revived the lapsed system of granting Charters to companies of merchants. In 1889 the British South Africa Company of Rhodes was given sovereign rights south of the Zambesi. Metabeleland and Mashonaland, to the north of the Transvaal, were annexed and the large territories were called Rhodesia after the founder. While Rhodesia was in its infancy, its founder became the Prime Minister of the Cape in 1890. Rhodes had three capacities: as Prime Minister of the Cape he was a responsible official of the British Empire; in relation to the Rand he was a kind of absentee Uitlander; as chairman of the chartered Company he exercised vast and practically uncontrolled authority, military and civil, in Rhodesia, through his agent, Dr. Jameson. We take up the thread of the story of the Uitlanders.

The Jameson Raid. Despairing of any remedy of their grievances, the Uitlanders planned an insurrection at the end of 1895. Rhodes with the active support of the financiers of the Rand, promoted it. There was to be a force of armed men from Rhodesia under Jameson (the administrator) with whose help the Johannesburg reformers, as they were called, were to seize the arsenal at Pretoria. At this it was expected, the High Commissioner Sir Hercules Robinson would come

up to mediate, and in the result, the Kruger oligarchy would be broken through. At the last moment the rising in Johannesburg was postponed ; but in spite of this fact and of telegrams from home to abandon the project, Jameson invaded the Transvaal from Mafeking on the west with some 600 troopers on December 29. But he found his way to Johannesburg barred by General Cronje and was forced, after some bloodshed, to surrender on January 2, 1896. The Doctor thus, in Rhodes' words, upset the apple-cart. The Johannesburgers also surrendered ; Jameson and other ringleader were handed over to the British Government for justice, by whom they were imprisoned. Rhodes resigned his Premiership (January 1896) and also the directorate of the Company (June, 1896). A Parliamentary Committee of Enquiry was appointed. Rhodes told the Committee that in promoting a revolt he 'endeavoured to combat the policy of the Transvaal government, which sought to introduce foreign influence into South Africa.' Moreover, believing that the Kruger *regime* must inevitably be displaced, he wished to make sure that the change should not take the form of merely replacing a Dutch by an Uitlander republic, which would have no sympathy with the federation of South Africa under the British flag.

The Jameson Raid led to many consequences : it embittered the feeling between the Dutch and the English throughout South Africa ; it made the lot of the Uitlanders harder ; it *encouraged* Kruger to make preparations for war. Kruger refused to believe that Chamberlain the Colonial Secretary, had no hand in the matter ; this suspicion led him to believe that the Raid was nothing but an attempt, with the connivance of the Home Government, to deprive the Transvaal of its independence. And matters were made worse by the telegram (January 3, 1896) of the Kaiser William II to Presi-

dent Kruger, congratulating him on his unaided success in overcoming foreign aggression.

The Second Boer War. The recklessness of Dr. Jameson had made a peaceful solution of the question more difficult than ever. In March 1899 the British Uitlanders reopened the question by sending the Queen a petition in which they enumerated their wrongs. In May 1899 Sir Alfred (afterwards Viscount) Milner who had succeeded Sir Hercules Robinson as High Commissioner, informed the Colonial Secretary that "the spectacle of thousands of British subjects kept permanently in the position of helots was undermining the influence of Great Britain throughout South Africa." In the same month the High Commissioner met President Kruger in conference at Bloemfontein and pressed upon him the grant of franchise based upon 5 years' residence. The Conference proved abortive. In July of the same year Transvaal agreed to a 5 years' residence franchise, if Great Britain dropped her claim to suzerainty. But Chamberlain informed him that the Imperial Government considered further negotiations useless. On October 9 President Kruger sent an ultimatum demanding instant withdrawal of British troops from the Transvaal borders. Two days later the Boers crossed the frontier into Natal, and the war began.

Great Britain underestimated the strength of the Boers. Paul Kruger, who as a boy had followed the Great Trek, had grown up a shrewd diplomatist with a strong sense of the value of money and guns. As an emigrant, he had an aversion for the English which was strengthened when he, as President, saw that the Transvaal was being hedged round by British territories which put a limit to his ambitions. His country had an opening through Delagoa Bay (Portuguese) through which he obtained guns; money he exacted from the Uitlanders. In 1897 an

offensive and defensive alliance with Orange Free State had been concluded ; in 1899 it also threw in its lot with the Transvaal by joining the war. Moreover the Boers were born fighters accustomed from their boyhood to the rifle, the saddle and the transport waggon. Mounted on hardy ponies, they possessed a mobility which made them extremely baffling foes on their own veldt and kopjes. But for the lax discipline of the Boers and their incapacity to act on a large combined plan, the war would have lasted longer. In spite of the warnings as to Boer strength, the British preparations were inadequate. Probably Chamberlain used the threat of war as a diplomatic weapon. But the Boers were not the men to yield to threats. As a race they were obstinate and self-reliant—qualities which their history (*e.g.*, Boer war of 1880) and surroundings had intensified.

The war began in October 1899 ; and its outbreak found comparatively few British troops in South Africa. In view of this and of the light-heartedness with which the nation entered the war, it is not surprising to find reverses meeting British arms in the beginning. One Boer force invaded Natal and shut up Sir George White the commander, in Ladysmith (November). Another Boer army was sent to invade Cape Colony and detachments from this laid siege to Kimberley and Mafeking. In November 1899, Sir Redvers Buller arrived at Cape Town to assume the chief command. He divided his forces, despatching Lord Methuen with 13,000 men to the relief of Kimberley, General Gatacre to repulse the Boers who had crossed the Orange river on their way to the Cape, and he himself went to Natal to the relief of Ladysmith. In one week, known as the Black Week (10—15th December, 1899), all the three forces were defeated. Sir Redvers was repulsed in an assault upon the Commander-in-Chief Joubert's

position at *Colenso*, losing two batteries ; Methuen attempted a night attack on the Boer position under Cronje at *Magersfontein* which barred the way to Kimberley but failed and lost some 800 men ; Gatacre attempted a surprise on the Boers at *Stormberg* but was himself surprised and made prisoner with 600 of his troops. The Cabinet realising the gravity of the situation made prompt and comprehensive preparations. Lord Roberts was appointed Commander-in-Chief with Lord Kitchener as his Chief of the Staff. The reserves were called out ; regular troops on garrison duty were relieved by volunteers ; well-equipped contingents came from Australia, Canada and New Zealand. No British commander, as it has been said, had ever directed so large a host as that which obeyed Lord Roberts' orders.

Roberts and Kitchener arrived on January 10, 1900 at the Cape Town. The new Commander-in-Chief at first concentrated his attention on the Boer army of the West. General French was sent to relieve Kimberley which he did in February. This was followed by the surrender of the whole of Cronje's forces at *Paardeburg* to Generals Kitchener and French (February 27). These successes relieved the pressure on Ladysmith where White was holding out in spite of famine and disease. Buller had made two more costly and futile attacks to relieve him ; but at the end of February the Boers, finding their communications threatened by the advance of the Commander-in-Chief, broke up the siege. Meanwhile the British army advanced on the Boer capitals : Bloemfontein was entered in March, and Pretoria in June, 1900 ; Orange Free State was declared annexed in May and the Transvaal in September. It seemed that the war was over ; but it merely entered a harassing phase of guerrilla warfare in which the Boers excelled.

In May 1900 died General Joubert ; and his place as Commander-in-Chief of the Boer forces was taken by Louis Botha. In November of the same year Lord Roberts thinking that the war was practically at an end, handed over charge to Kitchener. He had a lot of arduous work to do. The Boers under Botha and De La Rey in the Transvaal and De Wet in the Orange Free State maintained an obstinate guerrilla warfare. If the British troops were dispersed, the Boers suddenly attacked a small detachment in overwhelming force ; if they were concentrated, the Boers split up into small bands which cut the railways. In one area after another, Kitchener organised 'drives', constructed block-houses and destroyed the farm-houses which sheltered the Boers. Thus the Boer resistance was worn down and peace was signed at Vereeniging in May 1902. The two Boer States were incorporated with the British Empire : the Boers were given 3 million pounds sterling to rebuild their farmhouses and were promised self-government as soon as possible. To complete the history it may be noted that self-government was granted to the Transvaal in 1906 and to the Orange Free State in 1907. In 1909 the Union Act was passed bringing the four self-governing states into a political union on a unitary, not federal, basis.

CHAPTER V.

ENGLAND IN EGYPT.

Mahomet Ali and the Treaty of London. The history of Egypt opens, for our purposes, with the viceroyalty of Mahomet Ali. He has been styled as 'the Peter the Great of Egypt,' and sometimes as the Lion of the Levant. Both the titles point to his ability. He introduced European sciences, arts and manufactures into Egypt, and protected his people from all oppression but his own. It was his attempt to make himself independent of his surzerain, the Sultan of Turkey, that brought him into conflict with England. It should be remembered that the fixed policy of Lord Palmerston was to protect the integrity of Turkey whether against the aggressive Czar of Russia or against the ambitious viceroy of Egypt. In 1838 he refused the payment of the tribute to the Porte and proposed to make himself completely independent. He occupied Syria and even threatened Constantinople. In the following struggle between Turkey and Egypt, the Turks were defeated (June 1839) and to make matters worse the Sultan's fleet went over to the Egyptian viceroy. The whole Turkish Empire lay at the mercy of the viceroy with whom France was in league, as he had introduced French officers, engineers, and doctors into the province. England, Russia, Austria and Prussia agreed in considering that this progress of the viceroy must be checked. Palmerston succeeded (*vide ante* p. 121) in imposing his will upon Europe. By the Treaty of London (July, 1841) Mahomet Ali was confined to and was confirmed only in the hereditary Pashalic

of Egypt under the suzerainty of the Sultan. England's object achieved ; she withdrew from all intervention in Egyptian affairs ; but France continued to take interest.

Importance of Egypt. The indifference of England toward Egypt was as marked as the interest of France. England's enemies, and above all France, early perceived the importance of Egypt in the general scheme of English policy. "Really to destroy England, we must make ourselves masters of Egypt," so wrote Napoleon Bonaparte in 1797 ; and Napoleon's policy was continued by France in the 19th century. Twice (in 1844 and again 1853) Russia had offered Egypt to England in a scheme of partition of territories (*ante*, p. 133) but the offer was not accepted.* Prof. Marriott says, "Our blindness did not permit us to perceive or perhaps our morality forbade us to consent." In 1878 at Berlin Bismarck with some sinister design, pressed Egypt upon England. To Beaconsfield this offer must have been tempting, for he was the first English statesman to realise the importance of that country ; yet he declined it. So as the century rolled on, there came over England a change in her attitude to Egypt. Apart from the general progress of the Imperialist sentiment, two causes in particular contributed to this change : rapid advance of Russia in South-Eastern Europe and the opening of the Suez Canal. In connexion with the Foreign Policy, it has been narrated how England checkmated Russia in her progress in South-Eastern Europe. About Suez Canal it may be noted that a French engineer M. de Lesseps carried out the scheme of cutting a canal through the isthmus of Suez. The work was begun in 1859 and ten years later the canal was opened for traffic. It has already been said that England in 1876 purchased the shares of the Khedive, Ismail, in the

* France once offered it (*ante*, p. 142).

Suez Canal Company. From the purchase of the canal shares a new era in the Anglo-Egyptian relations dates. It marked the growing interest of England in Egypt.

Drift toward Debt. Mahomet Ali had abdicated in 1848 in favour of his son Ibrahim who ruled only for 4 months. The next Pasha was Abbas I (1849-54) and after him came Said (1854-63). He took shares in the Suez Canal Company and his contact with Europeans led him into extravagant expenditure for which he contracted a debt of more than 3 million pounds sterling. He was succeeded by Ismail Pasha (1863-79). Ismail had a genius for squandering away money. He sank money in all kinds of schemes for developing the resources of the country, nearly all of which failed due partly to the unsoundness of the scheme and mostly to the dishonesty of his officials. He had doubled his tribute to the Sultan in return for the new title 'Khedive' and for a greater freedom in the administration of his viceroyalty. What with his 'carnival of extravagance', what with the dishonesty of his officials, what with the inconsiderate endeavours to adopt western civilisation, he ran quickly into debt which rose by 1876, to 94 million pounds sterling. His creditors were mostly English or Frenchmen. In 1876 the Khedive sold his canal shares to England; in the same year he suspended the payment of the Treasury Bills. The English and French creditors were alarmed and their respective countries intervened to look after the interests of their subjects.

The National Rising. Already in 1875 England had sent the Paymaster-General, Stephen Cave, on a financial mission to Egypt. His Report of 1876, pointed out the dishonesty and extravagance of the Khedive's government and its oppression of the fellaheen. But mere report was not enough and action was taken. In May 1876 an international

Commission of Public Debt (known as *Caisse de la Dette*) was established at Cairo. The Commission was empowered to receive revenue set apart for the payment of debt and to sanction or veto fresh loans. In consequence of a fresh enquiry into the financial condition of Egypt, the Commission was suppressed (1878) and a new experiment of mixed ministry was tried. It was to consist of Nubar Pasha, an able Armenian, Sir Rivers Wilson, an Englishman and M. Blignieres, a Frenchman. The Khedive chafed under the restraints, tried to set his advisers by the ears, ultimately forced Nubar Pasha to resign by provoking a military *emente* and endeavoured to regain his former despotic powers. At length the Powers, at the instigation of Bismarck who made himself the champion of the bondholders, took action and prevailed upon the Sultan to depose Ismail (June 1879) in favour of his well-meaning but incompetent son, Tewfik. The abdication of Ismail sounded the death-knell of arbitrary personal rule in Egypt. These events aroused discontent in Egypt. It took the shape of a national movement against the intrusion of foreigners, not only Europeans but also Turks, Americans and Syrians who monopolised the chief offices in the state. "Egypt for the Egyptians" was the cry raised and it was directed mainly against the Dual Control of England and France. An Egyptian Colonel named Arabi Bey made himself the mouth-piece of this movement. The Dual Control lacked moral support and so the movement rapidly spread and threatened anarchy. A military committee was formed, led by Arabi and his more unscrupulous associate Mahmud Sami Arabi having the army at his back, forced the Khedive (February 1882) to accept a Cabinet with Mahmud as Premier and himself as Minister of War. Such was the condition of Egypt that Gladstone's second Cabinet had to face.

Britain intervenes. England and France in a joint note (January 1882) had assured Pewfik of their moral support. The first idea was to internationalise the Egyptian situation. The aid of the European Concert was invoked to discuss the question of intervening on behalf of the Khedive. A conference met in Constantinople at the end of June and proved entirely abortive. But in anticipation of events, the British and French fleets had already been despatched to Alexandria (May 1882). Riots broke out in the city. The British Consul General was wounded, some 50 Europeans killed and some 14000 Christians left the country during the next week. Sir Beauchamp Seymour, the admiral of the British fleet before Alexandria, urged immediate action. Attacked by Salisbury, Gladstone's Cabinet decided an armed intervention in Egypt. Arabi Bey was asked to stop the construction of the fortifications at Alexandria, but he refused. The city was bombarded and the fort demolished (July 1882). In pursuance of orders from home, the French fleet took no part in the operations. The British Cabinet decided to take more action to protect the Khedive and the country from lawlessness. Land forces were sent under Sir Garnet Wolseley. Arabi in the meantime did all he could ; proclaimed a Jihad and organised the fellaheen. Port Said and other places on the Canal were occupied by Wolseley.

Arabi was crushed at Tel-el-kebir (September 1882). After the defeat he fled to Cairo which however surrendered in the same month and the leader was captured and deported to Ceylon.

What was to be the next step ? Neither France nor any other power had co-operated with England in suppressing anarchy in Egypt. Gladstone was reluctant to add to British responsibilities by establishing a protectorate over the country.

So it was decided to keep the British troops in occupation till the complete restoration of the authority of the Khedive. Lord Granville, the Foreign Secretary thus spoke (January 1883) in the House of Lords : "It would be an act of treachery to ourselves, to Egypt and to Europe if we withdraw our troops without having a certainty of a stable, permanent and beneficial government being established in Egypt". Lord Dufferin was sent on a special mission to Cairo. Sir Evelyn Wood and other British officers proceeded to create a new army. Dufferin recommended a Legislative Council and General Assembly for the country ; and at the same time hinted that the masterly hand of a Resident would have to bend everything to his will. Dufferin's Despatches are interesting reading, but had no practical value. His real work was the appointment of officials, mainly British, who carried on the administration with admirable skill and evolved order out of chaos. At the top of these British officials was introduced Sir Evelyn Baring as British Agent and Consul-General. His position enabled him only to advise the Khedive ; and his advice was equivalent to command. Working through the Khedive, Major Baring, better known as Lord Cromer, became in effect the governor and transformer of Egypt. His first appointment in Egypt was in 1879 ; then as Consul-General in September 1883 and he remained the 'great Pharaoh of Modern Egypt' till 1907. Thus circumstances led to single-handed British intervention in Egyptian affairs and establishment of British control over the country which it may be noted in passing, owes its present-day prosperity mostly to British efforts. We now pass on to the events that, to a large extent, led to the prolongation of British occupation of Egypt.

The Sudan and the Gordon Tragedy. To the south of Egypt lies the Sudan. Conquered by Mahomet Ali it remained

a dependency administered by a Governor-General of the Khedive. From February 1877 to August 1879 it was governed by Charles George Gordon. As Governor of Sudan he did his utmost to suppress the slave trade and to do justice. On his retirement the country relapsed into anarchy. The Sudanese longed for deliverance from Egyptian tyranny. When therefore, in August 1881 Muhammad, a native of Dongola, announced himself as the Mahdi or Guide, the Sudanese eagerly rallied to his standard and drove the Egyptian troops into fortresses. The Khedive, intent upon restoring his authority in the Sudan, sent General Hicks, an officer in Egyptian service, with a force of 12,000 worthless troops into the heart of Sudan, only to be cut to pieces by the Mahdi's Dervishes in the waterless desert on November 5, 1883. Another attempt by Colonel Valentine Baker to relieve Tokar occupied by the Khedivial troops, failed. The whole of Sudan was thus in successful revolt against the Khedive's authority. Realising the impossibility of its recovery Major Baring advised the abandonment of the province. But that policy carried with it the duty of extricating the garrisons and the civil population in Sudan. This task was entrusted by Gladstone's Government to Gordon who was forced on the Cabinet by a newspaper agitation after he had been twice refused by Baring. "Rescue and retire", was the instruction given to Gordon when he was sent from home in January 1884. On arrival at Cairo he was appointed by the Khedive as the Governor-General of the Sudan. Whose servant was he? What was his mission? That his appointment as Governor-General altered the character of his original mission cannot be denied. Moreover, Gordon's temperament made him the last man to carry out a policy of retirement. He aimed at smashing up the Mahdi and establishing a settled rule in the Sudan and intended to remain there.

till this task was accomplished. But soon after his arrival at Khartoum (February 1884) he was surrounded on all sides by the Mahdist forces. The supreme necessity of the hour was a relief force to get Gordon out of the scrape. When asked by the British Cabinet why he did not leave Khartoum he grimly replied, "I stay at Khartoum because the Arabs have shut us up and will not let us out". But in spite of public clamour and the remonstrances of the Queen the Cabinet criminally neglected to send the relieving expedition under Lord Wolseley until just too late. In October 1884 Wolseley started from Cairo to lead an expedition up the Nile. On reaching Korti (December 1884) Wolseley sent an advance-guard by land to avoid the wide bend of the river Nile. On January 1885 this advance-guard commanded at that time by Sir Charles Wilson came in sight of Khartoum only to learn that it had fallen two day earlier, that Gordon had perished and the garrison had been massacred.

The Khartoum tragedy filled England with anger and consternation. The Queen mourned for the cruel though heroic fate of Gordon which, as she telegraphed to Gladstone, might have been prevented and many precious lives saved by earlier action on the part of the Cabinet. The House of Lords censured the Government by a large majority and in the Lower House it was saved from a similar condemnation by a very narrow majority. The first resolution of the Cabinet at the fall of Khartoum was to take up the policy of smashing the Mahdi. But menacing situation on the Afghan frontier* induced the Government to abandon that policy and "to withdraw altogether from the Sudan leaving that country to anarchy and fanatical oppression which

* Reference is to the Panjdeh incident.

British intervention had merely aggravated". The Gordon incident did more than anything else to discredit Gladstone's Government.

Recovery of the Sudan. The British troops were withdrawn from the Sudan in the summer of 1885; and for the next eleven years it was left a prey to anarchy. The Mahdi was poisoned in 1885, but the Khalifa whom he had nominated as his successor continued his tyranny. Meanwhile the Egyptian troops were being properly organised and disciplined by British officers, the chief among whom was General Kitchener. With the Sudan hostile, Egypt was not secure. In 1896 the Anglo-Egyptian government, with the hearty approval of, and pecuniary help from, Salisbury Cabinet at home, decided to reconquer the Sudan, and the work was entrusted to Sir Herbert Kitchener who slowly and patiently advanced towards the realisation of that purpose. In September 1896 he occupied Dongola. On September 2, 1898 he won his greatest victory at Omdurman over the forces of the Khalifa. Khartoum was taken, and a solemn service was held in memory of Gordon, the dead hero and saint. A peerage was conferred upon General Kitchener who also received pecuniary rewards and formal thanks from the Parliament. Thus was the Sudan recovered and British prestige vindicated.

The Fashoda Incident. Hardly had Lord Kitchener occupied Khartoum when news reached him that a small body of native troops commanded by white officers was in occupation of Fashoda, higher up the Nile (*ante*, p. 170). Thither Kitchener marched at once and found Major Marchand had planted the French tricolour flag there (July 1898). Ever since her voluntary withdrawal at the critical moment of 1882, France had impeded in every way, the work of reconstruction undertaken by Great Britain in Egypt. In 1898

Marchand pushing his way from French Congo through Central Africa, appeared in Fashoda on the Upper Nile, and refused to withdraw without orders from Paris. It was the time of the third ministry of Marquess of Salisbury who held the Foreign Portfolio also. His attitude was decided and firm. Not only he refused to come to any compromise but even to discuss the matter at all. He made it clear to M. Delcasse, the French Foreign Minister, that the intrusion of France into the Sudan would be resisted by the whole might of Great Britain. In November 1898 Marchand unconditionally withdrew ; and in March 1899 by an Anglo-French agreement France relinquished all claim to Sudanese territory. Anglo-French relations regarding Egypt gradually improved and in 1904 an agreement was signed by both giving to England a free hand in Egypt.

Meanwhile the Anglo-Egyptian agreement of January 1899 had recognised the joint sovereignty of Great Britain and Egypt over the Sudan ; no foreign consul was to be allowed to reside there without the previous consent of Great Britain ; and its Governor-General was to be appointed by the Khedivial decree on British recommendation. Restoration of order in the Sudan was proceeding apace : the Khalifa was killed in battle in November 1899 and Osman Digna, another lawless spirit, was captured in January 1900.

CHAPTER VI.

THE VICTORIAN AGE.

General features of the Age. The reign of Queen Victoria covers a period of all-round progress—progress in political liberty and in the sphere of governmental activity, progress in material wealth and social amelioration, progress in science and literature. It begins with almost an aristocratic form of government and ends in a full-blown democracy under Monarchy ; it begins with a narrow restriction of the province of Government and ends in a realisation of the obvious injustice of such a restriction ; it opens with degradation and poverty of the people and ends with comparative prosperity and elevated standard of comfort. As regards literature, it is rich alike in number and quality. As regards Science, the Victorian Age is *par excellence* an age of science. It is an age of unparalleled scientific activity and progress alike in the realm of speculative thought and in its application to the problems and affairs of life. Next, the growth of the British Empire is another feature of the Age. The development of the colonies, the mid-century policy of disintegration, and the rise of the imperialist sentiment have been explained. Lastly, the influence of Ireland runs like a black thread through the English politics of the reign. "The nineteenth century witnessed" says George Peel, "the persistent vengeance of Ireland. We destroyed her manufactures in the eighteenth century ; in the nineteenth she has destroyed our Ministries". Not only so ; she obstructed the Parliamentary machine and broke the Liberal party.

Literary Tendencies. The decade that witnessed the accession of Queen Victoria, coincidently enough, also witnessed a sharp cleavage in the literary history of England. Before her accession, Keats, Shelley, Byron, Scott and Coleridge had died; Wordsworth lived till 1850, but his best period was over. A new remarkable group of poets and writers appeared and captured the imagination and thought of the generation: Tennyson (1809-92) and Robert Browning (1812-89), Dickens (1812-70) and Thackeray (1811-63), Macaulay (1800-59) and Mill (1806-73), Carlyle (1795-1881) and Ruskin (1819-1900), Disraeli (1804-81) and Kingsley (1819-75), Grote and Thirlwall (1797-1875). Nearly all these writers reflect in their writings, though in varying degrees, the buoyant optimism, moral earnestness and passion for constructive effort that characterised the generation. In Macaulay the optimism manifested itself in a boisterous form; whereas in Carlyle it was completely lacking and was replaced by prophetic gloom. Between these two extremes were a number of authors whose writings displayed a protest against the cruelty and injustice of the prevailing social order. This discontent was born of the humanitarian spirit of the time and was directed against the heartlessness of the factory-owners and the poverty of the working class. The best exponents were Disraeli, Dickens, Kingsley and Ruskin. They rendered real service to the country and made philanthropy a living issue in practical politics.

Some of these writers survived long into the second half of the reign. But the literary character of this latter period was fixed by a group of younger authors whose works mainly or wholly belonged to it. Among poets may be mentioned Matthew Arnold (1822-88), William Morris (1834-96), Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828-82), Christina Rossetti (1830-94) and

Algernon Charles Swinburne (1837-1909); among novelists George Eliot (1819-80), Mrs. Gaskell (1810-65) and George Meredith (1828-1909); and among reflective essayists and writers Matthew Arnold, Thomas H. Huxley (1825-95), Walter Bagehot (1826-77) and Thomas Hill Green (1836-82). The mid-Victorian period is associated with smug and sordid self-complacency, contentment with uninspiring ideals and unaspiring morality. But none of these writers reflect this character of the period. The fact is, deep thinkers look ahead and give expression to new ideals that become the inspiration of a later time. The one common characteristic of all these later writers is a revolt against contemporary life in all its forms, an intensification of the discontent that marked the writings of Dickens and Kingsley. There were less hope, faith and imagination and more earnestness, system and science in this second period of the Age. "They expressed" says Prof. Ramsay Muir, "a many-sided revolt against conventionality, and were agog to stab complacency into wakefulness and self-reproach. They denounced with Ruskin the arid ugliness and cruelty of an industrialised society : or with Morris took refuge in imagining simpler and happier societies in the past or the future ; or with Swinburne hymned the praises of sensuous beauty ; or with Matthew Arnold grew melancholy and caustic at the spectacle of the Philistine's* insensitiveness to sweetness and light ; or with Meredith satirised the unrealities of sentimentalism and demanded a bracing contact with the clean and stern earth ; or with Christina Rossetti found content in quietism that shut out the world.....To them at least, whatever the average mind of the time might have thought,

*Reference is to the middle class of England, narrow-minded and deficient in great ideas.

there seemed little ground for satisfaction either with facts or with the aims of their own time. The most vital creative minds of the mid-Victorian era was not content with life as it was ; they were reaching forward towards some other and happier mode of life ; and in the midst of the self-complacency of their age were preparing the way for the active, restless and unhappy time that was to follow".

Movements of thought and feeling cannot precisely be dated. The destruction of self-complacency, the change in the temper of English thought and writing may approximately be placed about the middle of the sixties. The sixties were rich in historic happenings. The year 1865 saw the death of Palmerston who embodied the political Philistinism of the age ; 1866 saw Prussianism, 'blood and iron, backed by science', triumphant ; and 1867 saw the transfer of power in England to Demos. But the event that revolutionised English thought was the publication of Darwin's *The Origin of Species* (1859). Its influence began to be felt from the sixties. The importance of Darwin's writings was so great that we may divide the period into Pre-Darwinian (1837-1865) and Darwinian (1865-1901).

Some Poets. We have traced the changes of thought in general terms. We take up the important writers. The culture and thought of the first Victorian period was impersonated in Lord Tennyson. By 1842 he was able to publish the two volumes ('*Poems, chiefly Lyrical*') by which every marked tendency of the age was represented, in which every order of mind could find something peculiarly its own. In *The Princess* (1847) he touched the most serious temporal question of the day—position of women in society ; in *In Memoriam* (1850) he gave the best reply it knew to the question which is eternal ; in *The Idylls of the King* (1859) he afforded the

strongest proof possible of his identification with the spirit of the age by producing a Victorian epic in the guise of an Arthurian one. On the death of Wordsworth, Tennyson became poet-laureate in 1850 ; on his death in 1892, his successor was Alfred Austin. Browning was essentially the poet of man. He could make poetry of everything so long as it concerned a human being. His gifted wife, Elizabeth Barret Browning, (1806-61) though exceptional in her learning and attainments, nevertheless represented average womanhood in Victorian poetry. Her genius, as also that of her husband, was mainly lyrical. Robert Browning's best works are *Bells and Pomegranates* (1841-46), *The Ring and the Book* (1869), and those of his wife are *Casa Guidi Windows* (1851) and *Sonnets from the Portuguese* (1850). M. Arnold was more a critic than a poet. His *Poems* (1853-67) and *Thyrsis* (1863) display a tone of melancholy and loneliness which oppressed so many finer minds of the age.

A new school of poetry arose as a reaction against the Tennysonian repudiating the latter's intimate connexion with modern life and protesting against conventionalism and insincerity in pictorial art. Its principles and methods may be gathered from the fact that two of its three masters were Pre-Raphaelite painters. The Pre-Raphaelite movement upheld an entire adherence to simplicity of Nature as a guiding principle. Dante Rossetti wrote as he painted. Some of his sonnets are no doubt deficient in the grave simplicity of thought befitting sonnet ; but as a writer of ballads, he is absolutely unrivalled. The very exquisiteness of his poetry limited the sphere of his influence. William Morris, author of *Defence of Guinevere* (1858), *Jason* (1867) and *The Earthly Paradise* (1868-70), was Chaucer and Keats rolled into one. He was a socialist endeavouring to renovate society on an idealistic basis. Algernon Charles

Swinburne, author of *Atlanta in Calydon* (1864) and *Erectheus* (1876) sought to combine aesthetic with popular aims. His poems are noted for the swing and rush of versification, the vigour and vehemence of diction, the grand musical effect, clashing and chiming like some great cataract, far more than for the reiteration of a few unfruitful and unoriginal ideas. Christina Rossetti's poems are rich in music and colour, but they are fitted for the cloister than the hearth.

Prose Writers. (a) *Novels.* Fiction, though imaginative in character, is the mirror and the censor of contemporary manners. The works of W. M. Thackeray and C. Dickens illustrate this. Thackeray's well-known works are *Vanity Fair* (1847), *Pendennis* (1850), *Esmond* (1852) and the *Newcomes* (1855). He criticised the weaknesses and exposed the affectations of the genteel world. Dickens painted the seamy side of slum life as well as the free exuberant vigour of bourgeoisie life. Thackeray's style is better and his taste more delicate and correct. Some of Dickens' novels are *The Pickwick Papers* (1837), *Martin Chuzzlewit* (1844) and *David Copperfield* (1850). Of the writers who expressed abhorrence of the evils of the industrial system may be mentioned Mrs. Gaskell (*Mary Barton*, 1848) and Charles Kingsley (*Alton Locke*, 1850 and *Yeast*, 1851). Kingsley, Canon of Chester and of Westminster and Professor of Modern History of Cambridge (1860-69), painted in the two books, Chartism and destitution of labour, agricultural and factory; and in *Westward Ho!* he gave a graphic picture of Elizabethan adventure and seaman-ship. George Eliot (Mary Anne Evans) was author of *Middlemarch*, *Adam Bede*, *Silas Marner*, *Romola* and other novels. In George Eliot the artistic element is overpowered by the ethical. Thackeray was a painter and his disciple Trollope (1815-82) was a photographer of the upper middle

class. Two political novelists of the period were B. Disraeli, author of *Coningsby* (1844), *Sybil* (1845) and *Tancred* (1847), and Edward Bulwar-Lytton, afterwards Lord Lytton (1803-73). Lytton was a laborious and versatile writer and is known as the author of the *Last Days of Pompeii* (1837). The best fiction writers of the second half of the reign were G. Meredith and Thomas Hardy (born in 1840) and R. L. Stevenson (1850-94). Meredith demands too much learning from his reader and hence cannot be popular. His well-known novel is *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel* (1855).

(b) *Criticism.* Matthew Arnold shone both in poetry and in prose, in the criticism of literature as well as of contemporary life. To the critic he advises 'to see the object as in itself it really is'; he demands of him, disinterestedness, knowledge and justness of spirit. These sane canons he preaches in *On Translating Homer* (1861), *Essays in Criticism* (1865 and 1888) and *Mixed Essays* (1879). His criticism of the English social order was directed against its philistinism and routine thinking. The prevailing system, according to him, materialised the upper class, vulgarised the middle class and brutalised the lower class. Similar protest he makes against the stereotyped theology and narrow formalism in religion and morals. These views are to be found in his *Culture and Anarchy* (1869), *Friendship's Garland* (1871), *Literature and Dogma* (1873) and other works. His arguments are couched in lucid, urbane and piquant style. The best aesthetic critic was John Ruskin (1819-1900). His *Modern Painters* was completed between 1843 and 1860, and his *Stones of Venice* in 1851. In these he shone as an art critic, and, as a pre-Raphaelite painter, he went into the abstract problems of art in *Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849). About 1850 he came definitely under the influence Carlyle; and after 1860 Ruskin no longer appeared

as an art critic but as a social reformer. Accepting Carlyle as his master, he showed the same pessimism, and his criticism and thought were directed toward economics and sociology which he sought to humaneise as he sought, also to stir the utilitarian and commercial age to some protest against its own ugliness and cruelty. For this, his *Unto this Last* (1862) and *Sesame and Lilies* (1865) may be read. In 1871 he began a series of letters (*Fors Clavigara*) to the working class inculcating honesty, sincerity and altruism.

(c) *History*. Carlyle combined the functions of man of letters, historian, critic and prophet. As critic and prophet, he is at his best in *Sartor Resartus* (1834) *Chartism* (1836), *Past and Present* (1843), *Latter-day Pamphlets* (1850) and *Shooting the Niagra* (1867). He denounces the materialism, insincerity and conventionality of the age. With him biography dominates history ; and the basis of this doctrine is laid in his *Heroes and Hero-worship* (1840) and is developed in *Letters and Speeches of Cromwell* (1845) and *Frederick the Great* (1858-65). In the *French Revolution* (1837), however, he deals with 'peoples and classes more than with rulers and institutions' ; in it is also found a brilliant pen-portrait of characters like Mirabeau and Danton and of scenes like the fall of Bastille and the flight to Varennes. His books show a close study of original documents. His style is a curious amalgam of prose and poetry, sometimes ruggedly colloquial, sometimes majestically eloquent ; but it always teems with a wealth of idioms, graphic force and 'grisly laughter'. The reverse of Carlyle was Macaulay who represented the contentment and meriolism of the age. In 1830 he entered, as a Whig, the House of Commons where he soon made his mark as a speaker. He was the Law Member of the Government of India from 1834 to 1838 and drafted the Indian Penal Code of 1837. After his return he again entered

the Commons and attained Cabinet rank as Secretary at War. The Copy-right Act of 1848 was largely his doing. In 1857 he was made Baron Macaulay of Rothley. His *Critical and Historical Essays* reprinted from the *Edinburgh Review* in 1843, indicates his extensive reading but lack of the speculative gift. He could carry *The History of England* (1848-59) only up to the death of William III. It reads like a novel. Dry facts and dead names are suffused with sap and life with the aid of a wonderfully tenacious memory and a glittering lucidity of style. Modern in the wide range of research, Macaulay showed sixteenth-century partisanship in his writings. He was a man of strong prejudices and prepossessions and wrote in the spirit of a Whig pamphleteer. James Anthony Froude united in him some of the merits and faults of Carlyle and Macaulay. Froude came to know Carlyle personally in 1849 and it was Carlyle who inspired him to write his history. He adopted Carlyle's ideas—his sense of character and his belief in the incalculable importance of great men. Like Macaulay Froude wrote as an advocate. In the *History of England from the fall of Wolsey to the defeat of the Armada* (1856-70) he elucidates the story of the Protestant Reformation which in England began really with the fall of Wolsey and came to a definite triumph at the defeat of the Spanish Armada. As historian, his faults are grave. Sometimes he misstated facts and even references, read history in the light of his own theories and judged under the influence of his own emotions. But the charms of his writings are the admirable narrative style and the delineation of characters like those of Henry VIII and Mary Stuart. Macaulay and Froude are pictorial historians. Writers to whom history was philosophy taught by examples, were George Grote (1794-1871) and Henry Thomas Buckle (1821-62). Grote's *History of Greece* was written to exalt democracy as the proper form of government.

Buckle in his *History of Civilization* describes the part played by natural causes in shaping historical phenomena. Other historians whose name deserve specific mention, were Connop Thirlwall (1797-1875) and George Finlay (1799-1875), authors of *History of Greece*, Thomas Arnold (1795-1842), author of *Roman History* and Henry Hart Milman (1791-1868) author of *History of Latin Christianity*. The last three may be described as the connecting link between the old and the new school of English historians.

The new school of history shows the influence of the theory of evolution. It traces things back to their origin ; it demands freedom from all pre-conceptions ; it shows profound respect for facts ; and for facts it laboriously digs through the original documents. The new school was of German origin whose best supporters were Niebuhr, Savigny and Ranke. The typical English writers of the new methods were William Stubbs (1825-1901) and Edward Augustus Freeman (1823-1892). Stubbs Regius Professor of History at Oxford in 1866, Bishop of Chester in 1844 and Bishop of Oxford in 1889, published his famous *Constitutional History of England* between 1874 and 1878. That is a monument of patient research, judicial impartiality and comprehensive learning. Freeman succeeded Stubbs, as Regius Professor in 1884. Both were learned. But Freeman was a fanatical Liberal and a man of impetuous nature. Hence perhaps he does not enjoy the same reputation for caution and impartiality as Stubbs does. Freeman's best work is *The History of the Norman Conquest* (1867-79). The influence of the theory of evolution is best shown in Freeman's essays on comparative politics. Other Oxford historians were John Richard Green (1837-1883) author of *The History of England* (1877-80), Mandel Creighton (1843-1901) author of *The History of the Papacy* (1882-94) and *The Age of Elizabeth*

(1876), and Samuel Rawson Gardiner (1829-1902) author of *The Stuart Revolution*. Brilliant in style, Green popularised history. Creighton was Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Cambridge in 1884, Bishop of Peterborough in 1891 and Bishop of London (1897-1901). Gardiner is remarkable for accuracy; his researches pertained to the early Stuart period. Sir John Seeley (1834-95), Professor of Modern History at Cambridge (1869) combined 'the German comprehensiveness and the English precision'. His works are *Life and Times of Stein* (1879), *Ecco Homo* (1865), *The Expansion of England* (1883) and *The Growth of British Policy* (1895). W.E.H. Lecky (1818-1903) wrote *History of Rationalism in Europe* (1865), *History of European Morals* (1869) and *History of England in the Eighteenth Century* (1878-90). He was a philosophic historian, treating chiefly of the more enduring features of national life.

The scientific spirit manifested itself in the study of man—in anthropology and in archaeology, in philology and in the study of comparative law. The greatest writer on the last subject was Sir Henry Maine (1822-88). His mode of treatment is thoroughly evolutionary. He traces the history of laws and institutions and shows that the past has a vital and organic connexion with the present. His works are *Ancient Law* (1861) *Village Communities* (1871), *The Early History of Institutions* (1875) and *Early Law and Customs* (1883).

(d) *Philosophy*. Under this category we include two of the master minds of the age—J. S. Mill and T. H. Green. Mill was the Purveyor-General of Thought for the early Victorians. He supplied their men of science with Logic (1843), their men of business with Political Economy (1848), their statesmen and politicians with arguments for woman franchise (*The Subjection of Woman* 1869), for individualism, for liberty of thought and

action (*On Liberty*, 1859), and for the better treatment of the colonies (*The Representative Government*, 1861). Thomas Hill Green was author of *Prolegomena to Ethics* and *Political Obligations*, both published posthumously. Green rejects the Utilitarianism of Mill and places the *summum bonum* for man in some 'perfection of human life, some realisation of human capacities.' In *Political Obligations* he contends for an ethical basis for the State.

(e) *Science*. The theory of evolution held the field. It was known before Darwin who proved it by a patient piling of facts and observations and applied it to 'biology. Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) set himself to trace the operation of the same principle of evolution from the simplest to the most complex forms of creation and to account for all organic development and all the achievements of the mind of man, on mechanical principles. His books are *Social Statics* (1851), *Principles of Psychology* (1855) and his *System of Synthetic Philosophy* applied to Biology (1864-67), Sociology (1876-96) and Ethics (1892-93). Charles Darwin (1809-1882) published the *Origin of Species* (1859) and *The Descent of Man* (1871). The theory of evolution with man as the last link in the chain of evolution and ape as an intervening link, raised at once a battle of controversy in which on the side of defence fought Thomas Huxley, Darwin's bull-dog, and on the side of attack, Bishop Wilberforce of Oxford. But Darwin's theory was more than able to hold its own. In its effect, it destroyed old orthodoxy and undermined accepted certainties. Huxley published his *Man's Place in Nature* (1863) in which he *frankly* applied the Darwinian doctrine to man. Other scientists were Sir William Thomson (Lord Kelvin), Michael Faraday (1791-1861), John Tyndall (1820-83). The immense practical value of the researches of these and other scientists in Physics,

Chemistry, Electro-magnetism and Thermodynamics are well-known. But the men who did most in spreading the scientific spirit and the cause of Science were Huxley and Tyndall. Both had remarkable power of expression. The one noteworthy result of this was to create an antagonism between Religion and Science. But the two were ere long reconciled. For after all, the truly scientific minds found that man's explorations and achievements had neither finality nor permanent validity and that beyond a certain stage they were confronted with unknowable mysteries. "Science still reigned over the intellectual world ; but it was a science less dogmatic and confident on those subjects which lay beyond the reach of observation and experience."

The Newspaper Press. The Press developed with astonishing rapidity. Reduction of the stamp duty on newspapers in 1836, from 4*d.* to 1*d.*, of that on advertisement, in 1832, from 3*s.* 6*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* and the improvement in the printing-machines, contributed to that result. In 1839 London had 94 papers ; 256 were published in the provinces ; 59 in Scotland ; and 70 in Ireland. The year 1846 is remarkable in the history of the press for the first experiment in *cheap daily* journalism by the foundation of the *Daily News*. The dailies (*The Times* excepted) came to be priced at a penny and some of them attained enormous circulation. The fifties were a memorable decade alike in literary fruitfulness and in the impetus to knowledge. Some external causes are obvious. In 1842 had been passed the Copyright Act protecting authors against any invasion on the fruits of their labour and recognising the right of literature as a profession ; in 1850 towns with a population of over 10,000 were empowered to levy rate for the establishment and maintenance of free libraries ; the advertisement tax was abolished in 1853, the stamp duty in 1855 and

the excise on paper in 1861. The consequent cheapness in the daily papers made them a 'fourth estate in the realm.' The periodical literature also increased in volume from the fifties. The *Nineteenth Century*, the *Contemporary Review* gained in importance. They were supplemented by literary and critical weeklies like the *Athenaeum* and the *Spectator*. In 1875 there were 325 papers published in London, 1300 in the provinces, 149 in Scotland and 137 in Ireland. These statistics were an index to increased intelligence, extended commerce and swiftly-filtering civilization. The Elementary Education Acts and the cheapening of printed matter, diffused knowledge among the masses. There was an enormous increase in popular literature—seven-penny novels, cheap magazines and newspapers. Many men and able men too, were drawn to the profession of supplying the popular need, nay, of pandering to the popular taste. The consequent literary deterioration was inevitable. Another dark feature is that newspaper articles are often violently partisan in character and the advertisements are deceptive and misleading to the unwary and the ignorant.

Secondary and University Education. The secondary education was for long in an unsatisfactory condition. Only the classics and a little of mathematics were taught and endowments were diverted to other purposes. In 1837 there were some 705 grammar schools and nearly 2,200 other endowed schools designated as 'non-classical.' In 1862 and again in 1865, the schools were the subject of enquiry. The Endowed Schools Act of 1869 provided for the re-settlement of educational trusts. The cry against the inefficiency of teachers led much to their improvement in quality. The County Councils from 1889 and the available funds such as 'Whisky money', did much to mend the state of things.

The two universities of Oxford and Cambridge were restricted in their scope and influence: religious disabilities ex-

cluded Dissenters, Fellows were not allowed to marry, and at Cambridge before 1851 there were no Triposes for Natural, Science and Moral Philosophy. Between 1852 and 1882 many useful measures were taken, one of them being Gathorne Hardy's University Act of 1878. Religious tests and celibate clerical fellowships were abolished and facilities for teaching and research were increased. Many new universities were established. The noteworthy fact is that the younger universities admitted women to their degrees. In 1854 the first Ladies' College at Cheltenham was founded. Others followed.

Service of Science to Society. So long we have been confined to the theories and books of science and the change in the mental outlook wrought by them. When we pass on to the physical world we live in, we notice amazing improvements in locomotion and transport ; in sanitation, medicine and surgery ; and in manufactures and commerce.

(a) *Communication.* It need hardly be pointed out that the two agents in this sphere have been steam and electricity which have annihilated time and distance ; and they have been equally active on land and on the water. In 1830 the Liverpool and Manchester Railway had been opened. By 1836 Railways became the subject of commercial speculation. By 1850 most of the trunk lines were opened. In 1844 Gladstone's *Cheap Trains Act* provided that from each station and in each direction one train at least should be run daily in which third class passengers were to be carried in covered carriages and at a maximum fare of a penny per mile. In the last decade of the century petrol-driven automobiles and electric tramways came into use. As on land, so on the sea, In 1838 it was crossed by a vessel relying on steam only. In 1840 the P. and O. Company was formed to trade with the East by means of steamships. Iron ships were quickly built and the screw came into general use. Telegraphy was invented in 1837 ; and the

first experiment in transmitting messages was made in 1844. In 1870 it was placed under the control of the Post Office *i.e.*, it was made government property. The submarine cable was laid in 1866 in the Atlantic between Britain and America. The establishment of the telephone was much hampered by a judicial decision that the carrying of oral conversation over a distance was an infringement on the monopoly of the Post Office. However Henry Fawcett (Post-Master-General) granted licences to private companies for telephone (1884) on condition of a royalty of 10 p. c. to the Post Office. The penny postage and other P. O. reforms were made possible by the spread of railways. The Money Order department was opened in 1838; the penny postage was adopted in U. K. in 1840; the Savings Banks were instituted in 1861; the parcel post was established in 1883. The charges for these and telegraphic messages were gradually reduced. "The penny post and telegraph," says Hughes, "became the nervous system of commerce, while the railways acted as its arteries, bringing fresh life wherever they went".

(b) *Sanitation and Medicine.* It was Edwin Chadwick who as a member of the Royal Commission, on Factories (1833) and as Secretary of the Poor Law Commission drew attention to insanitary conditions in towns. After an outbreak of cholera in 1848, a General Board of Public Health to advise Parliament and local Boards of Health in some towns to look to the supply of good water and the disposal of the sewage, were established. The General Board was abolished in 1854; and the Public Health Act of 1875 handed over the duties of the local Boards to the municipalities. From 1855 Louis Pasteur began disclosing the enormous part played by micro-organisms in determining conditions of life and in producing diseases. From 1870 Tyndall took up the germ theory of diseases and did much to combat them. In 1889 notification of infectious

diseases was made compulsory. Laws were passed to improve slum areas, and nuisances of similar kind (*ante*, p. 101). Improved sanitation showed itself in the decline of death rate : in 1847 it was 25 per 1000, in 1871-81 it was 22·8 and in 1891-1900 it fell to 19·8. Sir James Simpson did much to lessen human suffering by discovering the anaesthetic property of chloroform in 1847. Pox vaccination, discovered by Jenner in 1798, was made gratuitous in 1840.

(c) *Agriculture and Manufactures.* The Industrial Revolution which was being carried on in the nineteenth century, completed the transformation of Britain into a manufacturing country ; and consequently, agriculture declined. Certain statistics incontestably exhibit the decline in the rural industry. In 1901 77 p.c. of the population were residing in urban districts ; the acreage under crop decreased immensely, and that under pasturage increased. The decline dates roughly from 1874 which was the first year of a succession of bad harvests. This was followed by the competition of American where large tracts were reclaimed and brought under cultivation. This competition was made possible by the immense reduction in the freight. In 1871 freight rate per quarter from New York to Liverpool was 5½s. ; it fell to 10d. in 1901. The British people were no loser by the change ; for in 1849 wheat was selling at 40s. 3d. per quarter, in the latter seventies the price was in the neighbourhood of 56s., whereas in 1894 it was 23s. At the end of the century the import of wheat per head of the population was double that of 1870.

In passing on to manufactures we notice some outstanding features. First, machinery almost completely substituted hand labour. The consequence was decrease in the demand for labour ; and in the period of transition, as for instance, at the outset of the reign, the working men were in the grip of

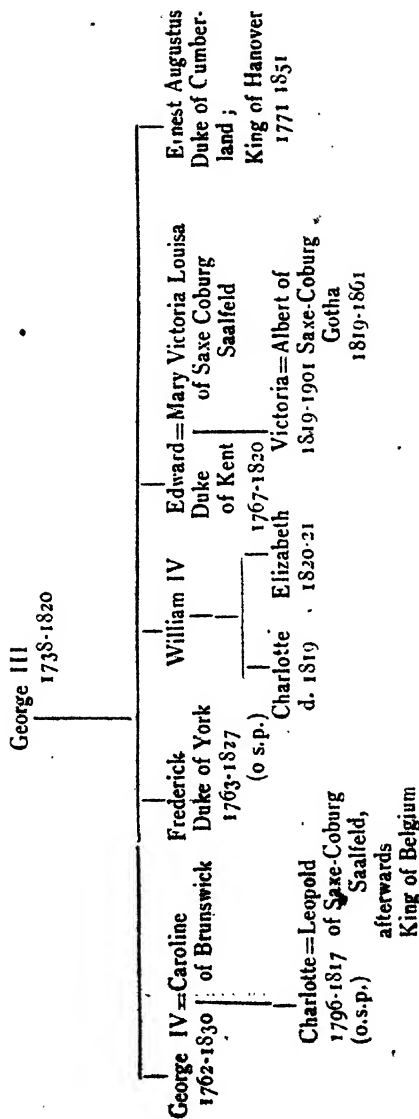
dire poverty. It has been calculated that the steam engine has dispensed with the labour of a thousand million men. Secondly, England became the workshop of the world, importing raw materials and exporting manufactures; and British ships carried the country's product to all parts of the world. The manufacturing production and the shipping trade reached their maximum prosperity in 1873: for U.S.A. had not recovered from the effects of the Civil War, and France and Germany from those of the Franco-Prussian War. Before long however, Germany and U.S.A. showed signs of challenging the industrial and commercial predominance of Britain. In the half-century under review the annual product of coal quadrupled, that of pig-iron doubled and the annual import of raw cotton doubled. The total annual average of all British exports in 1901 was more than double that of fifty years earlier. The national expenditure for 1837-38 was a little over £51 millions, whereas the estimated expenditure for 1900-1901 was more than £154 millions including £66 millions of war expenditure.

The population of U. K. was $25\frac{1}{2}$ millions in 1837, 37 millions in 1887 and about $41\frac{1}{2}$ millions in 1901. The increase in the population was not proportionate. The first reason was the decline in the birth-rate which was 37.89 per 1000 in 1871-81, and only 31.57 in 1891-1901. Secondly, emigration was continuing. It was at its height in the years following the Irish famine; it declined in the sixties and seventies. The bad years in the latter seventies again gave an impetus to emigration: in 1880-85 it was 0.75 per cent, in 1883 alone some 320,000 emigrated, and in 1899 some 146,362.

Condition of the people. "The people were better paid; they work fewer hours; they are better fed, clothed and housed; they are better educated; their habits and

customs have improved ; their sports and pastimes are no longer brutal and demoralising. The children and women are better cared for and better treated. The wheels of progress have gone on and on with accelerated speed." This is taken from a book written in 1887. The material progress of the people thus indicated may be illustrated by certain statistics. The consumption of sugar during the fifty years had gone up from 15 to 70 lbs. per head, tea from $1\frac{1}{4}$ to $4\frac{1}{2}$ lbs., and tobacco from 0·86 to 1·40 lbs. The working men had come to use these articles. Figures can be quoted to show the decrease of pauperism and of serious crime, and the increase in the Savings Bank deposits and in the funds of the Co-operative societies. There was also moral advance in temperance, in orderly behaviour, in personal appearance and in the dress of the working classes. They took interest in literature and in rational amusements and recreations like cricket and football. The amusements which were considered the birth-right of the upper classes, were shared by many. The all-round *material* prosperity gave birth to murmurings as to its permanence and value. Complaint was heard that the spiritual side of life was being crushed by the material. Secondly, Britain was being dislodged by Powers like Germany and U.S.A., from her foremost place in commerce and industry. Thirdly, the prosperity of the working classes depicted above, waned as the century advanced to its close. Growth of Socialism and frequency of strikes were its indications. It was the unskilled labour that was most discontented (pp. 99-101). Though at the end of the reign Britain was better in every way than at its beginning, yet at its close the 'confident note of mid-century buoyant meliorism' was less often heard.

THE ROYAL HOUSE.



FOREIGN SOVEREIGNS OF THE PERIOD.

Russia.

Nicholas	1825—55
Alexander II.	1855—81
Alexander III.	1881—94
Nicholas II.	1894—1917

Turkey

Mahmud	1808—39
Abdul Medjid	1839—61
Abdul Aziz	1861—76 (deposed)
Murad V.	1876 (deposed)
Abdul Hamid	1876—1908

Prussia

Frederick William III.	1797—1840
Frederick William IV.	1840—61
William I.	1861—88
(Emperor of Germany, 1870)	
Frederick III.	1888
William II.	1888—1918

Austria

Ferdinand I.	1835—48 *
Francis Joseph	1848—1916

France

Louis Philippe	1830—48
Republic of	1848
The Second Empire	} 1852—70
under Napoleon III.	
Republic of	1870

Sardinia and Italy

Charles Albert	1831—49
Victor Emanuel II.	1849—78
(King of Italy)	
Humbert	1878—1900
Victor Emanuel III.	

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